

INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

ON

H. Res. 282

TO INVESTIGATE (1) THE EXTENT, CHARACTER, AND OBJECTS
OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED
STATES, (2) THE DIFFUSION WITHIN THE UNITED STATES OF
SUBVERSIVE AND UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA THAT IS INSTI-
GATED FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES OR OF A DOMESTIC ORIGIN
AND ATTACKS THE PRINCIPLE OF THE FORM OF GOVERN-
MENT AS GUARANTEED BY OUR CONSTITUTION, AND (3) ALL
OTHER QUESTIONS IN RELATION THERETO THAT WOULD AID
CONGRESS IN ANY NECESSARY REMEDIAL
LEGISLATION

APPENDIX—PART III

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON TOTALITARIAN PROPAGANDA
IN THE UNITED STATES

Printed for the use of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities



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PRELIMINARY REPORT ON TOTALITARIAN PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

I. TONS OF PROPAGANDA

Totalitarian propaganda by the ton is pouring into the United States. The printing presses of Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan are making a steady assault upon public opinion in this country.

A high official in the United States Customs Service has made the following observation within the past 10 days:

All of the propaganda comes from Germany via Russia and Japan, and has been increasing in quantity steadily since the war began. A Japanese boat which arrived yesterday discharged nearly 400 sacks of this propaganda literature, weighing nearly five tons. * * * Even greater quantities are being received at Seattle and San Francisco.

The foregoing paragraph referred only to the propaganda which is emanating from Germany, and, as the context clearly shows, did not mean to imply that large quantities of propaganda are not being mailed to the United States from the other totalitarian countries.

Five tons of propaganda arriving on a single boat is typical of what has been happening during the past year.

According to the same official of the United States Customs Service, this propaganda is "addressed to thousands of individuals, schools, colleges, institutions, business houses, etc. * * *"

It is not possible to state exactly how many tons of such propaganda are pouring into the United States annually. Up to the present time, at least, the Post Office has not kept statistics on such entries of mail from the totalitarian countries. In a letter to the committee the Postmaster General says:

"However, definite figures are not available inasmuch as statistics of this kind have never been assembled by the Department, there being no indication at the time that they would ever serve a useful purpose or justify the expense that would have been involved."

However, here are some figures available, and these have been transmitted by the Postmaster General to the committee. They are admittedly not complete. The committee itself is in possession of samples of Nazi propaganda which are not covered by the figures submitted by the Postmaster General.

The following tabulation shows at least a part of the propaganda mail which has arrived in this country from a single source, namely, from H. R. Hoffman:

Date of arrival	Steamship	Mailed by—	Weight, pounds	Publication
1940				
Sept. 5	Tokai Maru.....	H. R. Hoffman (Munich)...	1, 120	News from Germany.
5	do.....	do.....	53	Do.
15	Azuma Maru.....	do.....	2, 578	Foreign News.
15	do.....	do.....	1 500	Periodicals.
19	Kyusyu Maru.....	do.....	525	News from Germany.
27	Brazil Maru.....	do.....	1, 415	News from Germany and American views.
Oct. 2	Tosan Maru.....	do.....	490	Periodicals.
18	Sakura Maru.....	do.....	844	News from Germany.
19	Asama Maru.....	do.....	62	Periodicals.
21	Heijo Maru.....	do.....	2, 847	Do.
29	Nankai Maru.....	do.....	3, 518	News from Germany.
Nov. 1	Nitta Maru.....	do.....	1, 496	Periodicals.
6	Sanuki Maru.....	do.....	522	Do.
6	Kinai Maru.....	do.....	98	Do.
13	Tatuta Maru.....	do.....	875	Do.
21	Seia Maru.....	do.....	977	News from Germany and American Views.
27	Hokkai Maru.....	do.....	924	News From Germany and Economics.

¹ Estimated.

The foregoing tabulation shows that approximately 91½ tons of Mr. Hoffman's propaganda have been coming into the United States during a period of 12 weeks. Even at this rate, a total of 40 tons of propaganda have arrived from this single source during the past year. But, it must be repeated, the foregoing tabulation does not include all of Mr. Hoffman's shipments during the September-November period.

Exhibit No. 1 is a photograph of some of the envelopes containing Hoffman's propaganda, which have been forwarded to the committee by the addressees.

Exhibit No. 2 is a photograph of some of the enclosures which have arrived from various sources in Germany, including some of those which are sent from Munich by H. R. Hoffman. In the photograph, those which emanate from the propaganda office of Mr. Hoffman are American views, British news and views, news from Germany, and economics.

On the basis of the partial statistics which are available, as well as the propaganda samples which are in the committee's possession but which are not covered by any statistics, it is possible to state that thousands of tons of totalitarian propaganda reach the United States by mail annually. The largest shipments are those from Germany. Next in order of volume come those which are sent from the Soviet Union. (This is not, however, a measure of the comparative extent of German and Russian propaganda in the United States, inasmuch as the overwhelming bulk of Stalin's American-aimed propaganda literature is printed in the United States and mailed here.) After the Soviet Union come Japan and Italy in the order of their quantity shipments of propaganda matter to this country.

II. PROPAGANDA: THE FIRST PHASE OF A TOTALITARIAN ATTACK

In the case of every country, in Europe and elsewhere, which has been attacked by the armies of the totalitarian powers, a vast propaganda barrage has preceded the military assault. While it cannot be said that the totalitarian powers invented propaganda, it can be said that they have become specialists in its use. The dictators have worked out the closest integration between the use of their printing presses and the movement of their armies. The totalitarian government's propaganda office works in the closest harmony with its war office.

Down to the present time at least, it has been true that every totalitarian war move has had as its first phase a propaganda attack.

III. THE AIMS OF TOTALITARIAN PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

The major objectives of the totalitarian propaganda which reaches the United States may be described, as follows:

(1) Much if not most of this printed propaganda material is devoted to extolling the advantages of life under totalitarian rule. A wholly false picture is drawn of the material and cultural benefits bestowed by the dictators upon their own peoples.

(2) Millions of printed pages are filled with justification of totalitarian conquests. The conquering dictators are pictured as unselfish benefactors of the countries which they have overrun with their military machines.

(3) Nontotalitarian countries which have already been subjugated under the rule of the dictators or which have incurred the special wrath of the totalitarian regimes are painted as uncivilized villains guilty of extreme cultural backwardness in their domestic life and criminal misconduct in their international relations.

(4) The whole of this totalitarian propaganda is calculated to arouse our hatred toward certain nontotalitarian governments and peoples with whom we are on friendly terms.

(5) One of the gravest aspects of this totalitarian propaganda is the inculcation of religious, racial, and class hatred between groups of citizens in the United States. Such hatred has been the keystone in the arch of totalitarian power in the dictators' own countries, and their propaganda naturally aims to accomplish in the United States results similar to their own, and to accomplish them by the same methods.

(6) This totalitarian propaganda drive is calculated to create national disunity in the United States on all of the most important questions of our international relations. This includes an attempt to fashion American foreign policy on the basis of the interests of the Axis-Soviet foreign offices. The main item in this propaganda effort is to oppose American preparedness for national defense.

(7) Throughout the dictators' propaganda in the United States is a direct and indirect attack upon the American form of government and the American way of life.

Such propaganda is bad enough in itself. But on no principle of freedom or constitutional right whatever may it be argued that the American people should be required to aid in the dissemination of such propaganda by providing any portion of the financial costs of distribution. A government subsidy, derived ultimately from the

taxpayers of America, is not a constitutional right which even the friends of American democracy may claim. It is certainly not a constitutional right which the totalitarian enemies of our democracy may demand.

This brings us to the very heart of the question, which is the cost of distribution of these thousands of tons of totalitarian propaganda whose aims are wholly un-American.

IV. AMERICAN TAXPAYERS FOOT THE BILL FOR TOTALITARIAN PROPAGANDA

From the time a sack of propaganda matter is discharged from a Japanese boat until its contents are distributed throughout the United States to individuals, schools, colleges, institutions, business houses, etc., it must be handled again and again by American citizens who are in the employ of the United States Government. The means of transportation which are utilized in the distribution of mail must be supplied or paid for by the United States Government. It is impossible to make any kind of an estimate of the costs of all these services. But two things are obvious: (1) The cost of distribution from the time such propaganda is taken off the boat until it reaches the addressee is borne by the taxpayers of the United States; and (2) such cost, however large or small, is a wholly unjustifiable item in the American taxpayers' bill.

V. THE UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION

All of the postage which goes on the propaganda mail which comes into the United States is paid in the country of origin. Countries which are members of the Universal Postal Union retain all the postage which they collect, and, in turn, distribute at their own expense all mail which comes from other countries.

Germany and the United States are both members of the Universal Postal Union, as are Russia, Italy, and Japan. Unlike the four totalitarian governments, the United States has no "Department of Propaganda" which aims to influence the internal policies of Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan. The United States Government does not, therefore, use the mails for directing propaganda against these four governments. Consequently, the United States receives no reciprocal benefits under the workings of the Universal Postal Union. Neither do the citizens of the United States receive any such benefits in their private capacity, for even if American citizens wished to use the mails for sending propaganda into Germany, Russia, Italy, and Japan, there is not the slightest probability that such propaganda would ever be permitted by the totalitarian governments to reach their subjects.

Inasmuch as the United States Customs Service and the United States Post Office Department are now permitting the influx of totalitarian propaganda under the arrangements of the Universal Postal Union, it may be proper at this point to introduce a brief history of that institution for the purpose of making clear that it was never intended to fit a world in which totalitarian powers make the use of mails the first phase of their wars upon free peoples.

Prior to the founding of the Universal Postal Union, the international mail service was in a state of veritable chaos. There was no uniformity in the postal relations among the different countries of the world; the regulations governing such international intercourse were fixed by special conventions. The result of that multiplicity of laws and regulations was intolerable confusion in the execution of the foreign postal service. The postage rates and weight units varied, not only between one country and another, but also in each individual country, according to the route employed and the zones in which the dispatching and receiving post offices were situated, so that it was an exceedingly difficult task for senders to determine the most advantageous way to dispatch their mail. The proceeds of the postage collections were shared by the postal administrations concerned, in proportion to the value of the services supposed to have been rendered in each country. The need for dividing the postage on every mail article into unequal parts gave rise to a very elaborate system of accounting as part of the daily routine at post offices. Transit rates were very high, and were as variable as the initial or terminal rates.

Beginning with the second half of the nineteenth century, there was a marked tendency to simplify the postal relations among the different nations. In most countries, a uniform and (for letters) lower rate was substituted for the old schedules of rates in proportion to the distances. A new principle began to gain ground—that of allowing each country to retain the whole of the postage which it collects.

The first truly international postal conference, composed of the representatives of fifteen nations, met at Paris in 1863, at the suggestion of Mr. Montgomery Blair, then Postmaster General of the United States of America. Its object was not yet to discuss the clauses of a general convention, but to exchange ideas, to examine facts, and to infer from them certain principles to serve as the basis for future international postal agreements. The idea of a Postal Union was in the air, and Paris was its cradle.

In fact, the idea was not long in materializing. In 1874, the first Postal Congress convened at Berne, pursuant to the suggestion of Mr. Stephan, then Director General of Posts of the North German Confederation. The United States of America, Egypt, and all the countries of Europe were represented. Twenty-four days of deliberation sufficed to reach an agreement on all points and to draw up the constitutive treaty of the General Postal Union. That treaty brought about a happy revolution in international postal relations. Uniformity took the place of multiplicity and confusion of rates and regulations, postage was considerably reduced, and barriers were broken down by the stipulation that the contracting countries should form a single postal territory.

Subsequently, Universal Postal Congresses have been held at Paris in 1878, at Lisbon in 1885, at Vienna in 1891, at Washington in 1897, at Rome in 1906, at Madrid in 1920, at Stockholm in 1924, at London in 1929, at Cairo in 1934, and at Buenos Aires in 1939. The next Congress is scheduled to take place at Paris in 1944. In the intervals between certain of the Congresses, special administrative Postal Conferences have convened at Berne in 1876, at Paris in 1880, at Brussels in 1890, and at The Hague in 1927. Special Postal Committees assembled at Zermatt (Switzerland) in 1921, at Cortina d'Ampezzo (Italy) in 1925, at Paris (France) in 1928, and at Ottawa (Canada) in 1933. Two jubilees have been held at Berne—the first in 1900, to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Universal Postal Union; and the second in 1909, to unveil a monument commemorating the Union. A jubilee was also held at Stockholm in 1924, coincident with the Stockholm Congress, to celebrate the Union's 50th birthday.

The salient features of the work accomplished by the various postal reunions are as follows:

The Conference of Paris (1863) provided for the classification of mail articles as letters, commercial papers, samples, and prints; for the optional prepayment of letters (with a surcharge in the event of shortpayment) and the obligatory prepayment of other articles; for a uniform weight unit for all relations, based on the metric system; for the registry and insurance systems, fixing the responsibility of the contracting parties in the event of loss or rifling; for uniform postage rates wherever possible; for the limitation of transit charges to half the domestic postage of the transit country; for the simplification of postal accounts; for the forwarding and return of undeliverable correspondence; for the franking privilege for official mail matter; and for the special-delivery service.

The Congress of Berne (1874) made provisions for the right of transit of mails thruout the Union at certain rates within maximum limits; established a uniform classification of articles transmissible in the international mails, and fixed uniform postage rates and conditions within maximum limits therefor. It greatly simplified the detailed and complicated postage accounts by providing that each country should keep all the postage which it collected, and should settle with other countries for their intermediary services within the Union on the basis of weights, instead of on the basis of rates. It made obligatory the forwarding of unprepaid letters and of shortpaid articles of other classes, and granted the franking privilege to official correspondence exchanged between postal administrations. It provided that undeliverable mail articles should be forwarded thruout the Union without additional charge for such forwarding. It recognized the principle of responsibility for the safety of registered articles, and recommended a limited indemnity (50 francs or \$9.65) for loss or damage suffered by them in transit. It provided for a Congress to convene once every three years to revise the Treaty, in which every country should have one vote; and it established an international Bureau at Berne, under the supervision of the Swiss Administration, charged with collecting and distributing postal statistics and information, giving its opinion on disputed questions, and in general serving as an organ of liaison between postal administrations, and considering questions of interest to the Postal Union; the expenses of the Bureau to be borne jointly by the contracting countries in proportion to the importance of their postal business. It also provided for arbitration in case of disagreement between two or more Administrations as to the interpretation to be made of any of the provisions of the Treaty. Moreover, arrangements were made for the publication of a magazine entitled "L'Union Postale" in English, French, and German, the first number of which appeared on October 1, 1875. The Treaty of Berne went into operation on July 1, 1875, over a territory comprising 375,000,000 inhabitants.

The Conference of Berne (1876) admitted British India and the French Colonies to the Union, and fixed uniform transit charges for these countries in accordance with the Treaty of Berne.

The Congress of Paris (1878) made certain changes in the former Treaty which were deemed necessary, and changed its name to "Universal Postal Convention." The General Postal Union has since that time been known as the "Universal Postal Union." This Congress also drew up additional Agreements for the exchange of insured letters and money orders, to which the United States did not adhere because this country had no letter insurance service in the first case, and because the Post Office Department could not see its way clear to sanction the use of card money orders in the second case.

The Conference of Paris (1880) met to examine proposals for an Agreement concerning the introduction of a parcel-post service in the Universal Postal Union, and its deliberations resulted in the conclusion of the Universal Parcel Post Convention, which was not signed by the United States because there was no domestic parcel-post service in this country at the time. It has not been adhered to subsequently on account of the difficulties in accounting and other inconveniences which it would cause for this service.

The Congress of Lisbon (1885) amended the Paris Convention and concluded additional Agreements concerning postal identification booklets and the collection of bills and drafts thru the post office. The United States did not participate in those two Supplementary Agreements, due to the nonexistence of the services in question in its internal regime.

The Conference of Brussels (1890) prepared the draft of an additional Agreement concerning subscriptions to newspapers and periodicals thru the medium of the post office, to be submitted to the Vienna Congress.

The Congress of Vienna (1891) introduced the collect-on-delivery service (in which the United States did not take part because no domestic c. o. d. service existed in this country at that time); and constituted the International Bureau as a central accounting office for those Administrations which desired to make use of its services for that purpose. (For many years the United States has not seen fit to avail itself of that option.) The Vienna Congress also charged the International Bureau with publishing an alphabetical list of all post offices in the world, and approved the additional Agreement concerning subscriptions, to which the United States did not become a party because it had no domestic subscription-by-mail service. All the provisions which today govern international postal relations were from that time on codified.

The Congress of Washington (1897), being the first which did not have to take up the question of inaugurating any new services under additional Agreements, devoted most of its time to the discussion of transit charges. It was at this Congress that the question of gratuitous land and sea transit was seriously discussed for the first time, following propositions tending to establish such gratuity submitted by the countries of South America. The proposed innovation was bitterly contested by certain European nations and finally rejected, but the question has subsequently gathered momentum and has been given more and more careful consideration at every succeeding Congress. It is of interest to note that our 1¢ and 5¢ stamps have their present-day colors because of the decision of the Washington Congress that the stamp representing the postage on a single-rate print should be green; and, on a single-rate letter, dark blue.

The Congress of Rome (1906) made several modifications in the Washington Convention, perhaps the most important of which was the creation of the international reply coupon, by means of which the sender can furnish the addressee postage to prepay his reply. Likewise, transit charges were readjusted, postage rates were reduced on letters (in the United States, from 5¢ per half-ounce to 5¢ for the first ounce and 3¢ for each additional ounce), provision was made for the mailing of picture post cards under the same conditions as ordinary post cards, and the franking privilege was extended to prisoners of war.

The Congress of Madrid was to have convened in 1913, but was postponed by the Spanish Government, for domestic reasons, until 1914, in which year the European War (which afterwards became world-wide) broke out, seriously interfering with postal communications thruout the world, hampering the operation of the Universal Postal Union, and causing the Congress to be postponed until 1920. Due to the long interval which had elapsed since the Rome Congress, an enormous number of propositions confronted the Madrid Congress, so that its deliberations lasted 61 days. Its work was largely one of reconstruction. In view of the great financial instability following the war, the gold franc was adopted as the monetary standard of the Union and a flexible scale of postage rates with maximum and minimum limits was fixed. Provision was made for the first time for air-mail service. It was decided that the magazine "L'Union Postale" should from that time on be published in Spanish, in addition to English, French, and German. The identity-booklet Agreement was dropped, and provision was made in the Principal Convention for the optional issuance of identity cards (which the United States did not undertake, for the same reason that it did not adhere to the identity-booklet Agreement in the first place); and a new Agreement for postal checks was drawn up, but not signed by the United States because this country had no domestic postal-check service.

Early during the sessions of the Madrid Congress, the interests of the United States, Spain, and the Latin-American countries began to be cemented together to form a Hispano-American bloc in the heart of the Congress, which led to the conclusion of the Spanish-American Postal Convention among the countries mentioned. The main provisions of that Convention were for free and gratuitous transit and for the application of domestic postage rates in the international service. Other Pan-American ideals were the adoption of English and Spanish as official languages of the Universal Postal Union and the elimination of the votes of Colonies, Protectorates, and Dependencies in the Universal Postal Congresses. While none of these aims could be completely realized, postage and transit rates were to a certain extent held down, Spanish was adopted as one of the languages of the journal "L'Union Postale," and the voice of the western world had begun to make itself heard in the Universal Postal Congress.

A special committee, known as the Research Committee, constituted by the Madrid Congress, met at Zermatt, Switzerland, in 1921, to recodify the Conventions and Agreements of the Union in accordance with the logical sequence of their subject-matter, and to recommend to the Stockholm Congress any changes deemed necessary. Among other things, the Committee suggested that the name of the Parcel Post Convention be changed to "Parcel Post Agreement," reserving the term "Convention" exclusively for the Principal Convention. The recommendations of the Committee were all approved by the ensuing Congress.

The Congress of Stockholm (1924) reduced the maximum and minimum postage rates, lowered the transit rates, and made provision for the transmission of dutiable articles in the letter mails to those countries which would agree to accept such shipments. This Congress was the scene of further heated debates on the subject of free transit and the suppression of the votes of the Colonies, between the Pan-American countries on one hand and the European nations on the other, which, however, did not result in settling the questions. The Stockholm Congress was in session for 55 days.

The Research Committee met again at Cortina d'Ampezzo, Italy, in 1925, to devise ways and means for simplifying and speeding up the work of future Congresses, and also to reorganize the magazine "L'Union Postale." It was decided that a preparatory committee should meet at least six months prior to the opening of each Congress, examine the propositions submitted by the various Administrations, and make the necessary recommendations to the Congress. Provision was also made for enlarging the scope of the Postal Union Magazine.

The Conference of The Hague (1927) met to discuss the ever increasing air-mail service, and drew up two sets of regulations to govern it—one for regular mails and one for parcel post. The United is a party only to the former, as there was no provision for the transportation of parcels by air in its domestic service at that time.

The Preparatory Committee for the London Congress met at Paris in 1928, pursuant to the recommendation of the Research Committee of Cortina d'Ampezzo which had been approved by the Administrations of the Union.

The Congress of London (1929) decided that checks or drafts for payments made by one country to another shall be in the money of a country in which the central or other official bank of issue buys and sells gold or its equivalent in exchange for national coinage at rates fixed by law or under an agreement with the Government. A new model of reply coupon with minimum sale price of 37½ centimes was adopted. The basic postage rates were unchanged. The weight limit for raised prints for the blind was increased to 5 kilograms. Provision was made for a new class of correspondence known as "small packets" with the same dimensions and other conditions as for samples. The name of the sender must be written on the outside. The Administrations were authorized to charge a special fee for the delivery of such packets, which may contain dutiable articles and be subjected to customs examination; and were required to accept complaints and inquiries regarding articles mailed in other countries. Methods for taking statistics and settling transit charges were simplified. The sliding scale of maximum and minimum postage rates was made less flexible. Only the name and address of the recipient shall be visible thru the panel of window envelopes and the contents must be so folded that the address cannot be obscured. The address must be legibly written in ink, by hand or typewritten, and not in ordinary or indelible pencil. A serial or register number relating exclusively to printed packets was added to the notices that may be written on them. The manner of payment, names of author and publisher, catalog number, and the words "stitched," "stiff boards," or "bound" may be inscribed on order or subscription blanks for books, etc. A very short explanatory note may be added to photographs. Senders may print a questionnaire on the back of reply post cards, to be filled in by the addressees.

As for the air-mail service, it was decided that the Provisions of The Hague concerning the transportation of regular mails by air should be appended to the Universal Postal Convention and considered as forming an integral part of that Convention and its Regulations. As an exception to the general provisions of the Convention, however, a modification of those provisions may be undertaken by a Conference composed of the representatives of the Administrations directly interested in the matter. Samples and small packets were added to the articles that can be included in air mails. Air-mail matter sent to persons who have meanwhile changed their addresses will be redispached to the new address by the ordinary means, unless the addressee has expressly asked to have it forwarded by air and has prepaid the air surcharge for the new transportation at the redispaching office. Freedom of transit is guaranteed to air-mail correspondence thruout the Union territory, whether the intermediate Administrations take part in the onward dispatch of the correspondence or not.

The Preparatory Committee for the Cairo Congress met at Ottawa (Canada) in 1933.

The Congress of Cairo (1934) provided as follows: Uniform dimensions for letters, commercial papers, printed matter, samples of merchandise, and small packets. Articles, the faces of which are divided for the inscription of successive addresses are prohibited. Copies of old letters and post cards as well as the originals thereof, even though bearing the original canceled postage stamps, may be classified as commercial papers. Unsealed envelopes containing prints must, if necessary, be provided with fasteners, or tied with string, which can be easily removed. Postage stamps or postage-paid impressions must appear only on the front of single post cards or prints sent in the form of cards,

preferably on the right-hand side or as far as possible on the right half, respectively, of such cards. All impressions or reproductions on material assimilable to paper as well as on paper, are considered as prints, but motion-picture films or phonograph records are not. Photographs may bear summary information as well as explanatory legends. A card, envelope or wrapper with address of the sender and prepaid for reply by postage stamps of the country of destination may be enclosed with printed matter. Except such cards, envelopes, or wrappers, and canceled postage stamps on old letters or post cards, no postage stamps or forms of prepayment or paper representing a value may be included in commercial papers, prints, samples, or small packets. Vaccines may be sent as samples of merchandise. Small packets are subject to the preparation and packing requirements for samples. After delivery has been unsuccessfully attempted, the special-delivery indication on special-delivery articles must be stricken out. Registered articles and unregistered letters and post cards with prepayment indicated by impressions of stamping machines need not be postmarked if the impressions show place and date of mailing. Nor need unregistered printed matter, samples, commercial papers, and small packets be postmarked if the place of origin is indicated on such articles. Only the deficiency in case of short-paid registered articles will be collected from the addresses. Articles addressed to persons who have submitted change of address will be forwarded, unless the wrapper bears instructions to the contrary in the language of the country of destination. Administrations are not responsible for articles seized by the customs for false declaration of contents. Notations requesting return receipts must appear on the front of the registered articles. The transmission of books as prints is no longer restricted to stitched or bound books. When impressions to indicate prepayment are made by printing press or other methods on packages of printed matter, the indication that the postage has been paid may be shown in abbreviated form. Transparent panels need no longer form an integral part of the envelopes of registered letters. Requests for withdrawal or change of address of a number of articles mailed simultaneously by the same sender to the same addressee are subject to the charge applicable only to a single-rate registered letter to the country concerned. It is recommended that envelopes containing Postal Union articles should be not less than 4 inches in length and $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width and that all articles sent at reduced rates be endorsed to indicate the classification, i. e., "commercial papers," "printed matter," etc. "Cut-out patterns" are added to the articles admissible as "prints." The number of the copies of works offered or ordered and the price thereof may be shown on printed matter. Transit charges on closed-mail correspondence were reduced 20%, and those on open-mail correspondence were abolished.

The Congress of Buenos Aires (1939) extended the special concessions as to reduced rates and increased maximum limits, hitherto applicable only to "raised print for the blind," to include plates for printing such raised characters, Braille letters, and sound-reproduction records sent by recognized institutions for the blind or addressed to such institutions. Due to a depreciation in the currencies of many signatory countries in their relation to the gold franc, a 20% reduction was made in the basic postage rates and certain other charges. This reduction does not apply to transit charges, which are scheduled to be considered separately by a special commission. Optional provision was made for the admission, on a reciprocal basis, of articles known as "phonopost" articles, which consist of phonographic disks composed of light material of sufficient strength to withstand transportation and handling, on the surface of which the sender may record the text of actual and personal correspondence, a discourse, a song, etc., which when received by the addressee can be reproduced on an ordinary phonograph. These articles are in general subject to the rates and conditions applicable to letters. However, this system has not yet been made effective in this service. A specific provision was inserted in the Convention authorizing the transmission in the international mails of parasites and predators of injurious insects intended for the control of such insects, when exchanged between officially recognized agencies. Provision was also made for the exchange of correspondence at the reduced rate between students in schools, if sent thru the intermediary of the heads of the schools concerned. Another new provision relates to forms used in connection with loans from libraries, which are admitted at the rate for prints. It was formerly provided that missent mail should be struck with the impression of the postmark of the office where it is received thru error, but this no longer applies to unregistered articles sent at the reduced rate. It is also stated that such impressions shall be

placed on the back of letters and on the front of post cards. Also in the case of reforwarded articles the Convention provides that the date stamp of the redispaching office shall be applied to the back of all articles except those in the form of a card. In regard to air-mail articles, specific provision was made that, if no practical difficulties result therefrom, the sender may request that his correspondence be dispatched by air over only a part of the route. Moreover, it was provided that while the weight of the return receipt form is not to be considered in calculating the postage on an article intended for surface transportation, the weight of such receipt form is included in the calculation of the aerial surcharge.

The effective date of the Buenos Aires Convention was fixed at July 1, 1940.

It will be seen that the Universal Postal Union has been a true "league of nations." It has brought the peoples closer together by facilitating their intercourse. It was the first to organize arbitration as a means of settling international disputes. The founders of the Union were, therefore, the pioneers in the great work being done to make and maintain international peace and good will.

Like everything human, the Universal Postal Union is capable of endless improvement, but as it now stands, it is, in comparison with the previous state of affairs, an immense progress. Little by little it has introduced facilities of all sorts into international communications.

The creation of a uniform basis and the lowering of the postage rates are in the first ranks of the progress obtained. But there is another. The Universal Postal Union was, we may well say, the first to lay down the principle of the solidarity of nations. This principle now dominates all international postal relations. It is this which has made harmony succeed dissension, and financial unselfishness supplant fiscal greed; it is this which has broken down ancient barriers, and thrown open to the free circulation of ideas those frontiers formerly half closed by well-nigh prohibitive postage rates. By virtue of the principle of liberty of transit proclaimed by all postal congresses, every country is obliged to let foreign mail matter circulate within its territory as freely as its own, and, for a just and reasonable compensation, to forward it to destination by the most rapid means available. What progress this is, as compared to the ancient antagonism;

The Postal Union has also provided a peaceful means for the settlement of disputes and conflicts arising between its members. In case of disagreement, the Administrations concerned can ask the International Bureau for its opinion on the disputed questions. They can also have recourse to arbitration, each party choosing as arbiter a Union member not interested in the matter. The decision of the board of arbiters is made on an absolute majority of votes, and is binding on all parties concerned. In the event of a tie vote, the arbitrators choose another Administration which likewise has no interest in the dispute to case the deciding vote.

Each country is represented at the Congresses (which now meet once every five years) by one or more plenipotentiary delegates, provided with the necessary credentials by their Governments. It may, if necessary, be represented by the delegation of another country. However, it is understood that a delegation may not be charged with representing more than two countries, including the one by which it was first accredited. The delegates from the United States are appointed by the Postmaster General, and are authorized to sign the Convention drawn up by the Congress, subject to subsequent approval by the Postmaster General and ratification by the President.

Each Congress decides where the following Congress is to be held.

In the deliberations, each country has but one vote. At the Buenos Aires Congress 72 votes were cast. Sixteen countries either did not sign or were not represented at this Congress, but the Final Protocol was left open for their subsequent adhesion. The following colonies or possessions are considered as separate countries for postal purposes: The Belgian Congo; the whole of the Possessions of the United States of America other than the Commonwealth of the Philippines (including Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Virgin Islands); the Commonwealth of the Philippines; the whole of the Spanish Colonies; Algeria; French Indochina; the whole of the other French Colonies; the whole of the Italian Colonies; Chosen; the whole of the other Japanese Dependencies; the Netherlands Indies; Curacao and Surinam; the Portuguese Colonies in West Africa; the Portuguese Colonies in East Africa, Asia, and Oceania. Needless to say, the French Regency of Tunis, the autonomous British Dominions of the Union of South Africa, the Commonwealth of Australia, Canada, British India, Ireland (Eire), and New Zealand are counted as separate countries as far as the Universal Postal Union is concerned.

The Universal Postal Union now comprises practically all the countries of the world, with approximately 265,000 post offices. The following countries are not at present members of the Union: The Laccadive and the Maldiv Islands. These countries will, however, be permitted to enter the Union at any time. Notice of their adherence must be given, thru diplomatic channels, to the Government of Switzerland, and by the latter to the Governments of all the other countries in the Union.

As has been previously mentioned, the United States does not execute the international parcel-post, money-order, c. o. d. and insurance services on the basis of the Union Agreements; but prefers, for various reasons of a domestic nature, to make individual arrangements with each country concerned. If, however, the said Agreements are modified in the future in such a way as to become acceptable to this country from a domestic standpoint, it will no doubt immediately adhere thereto, in the interests of uniformity and international solidarity.

One paragraph of the foregoing sketch of the Universal Postal Union stands out particularly as a reminder that the Union was conceived as an agency to serve the needs of a wholly different kind of world from that which has developed since the rise of the totalitarian dictators. That particular paragraph reads, in part, as follows: "It will be seen that the Universal Postal Union has been a true 'league of nations.' It has brought the peoples closer together by facilitating their intercourse." As a matter of cold realism, the Universal Postal Union is today facilitating the totalitarian propaganda attack upon the United States in particular and upon all the free peoples in general.

VI. THE POLISH ATROCITY BOOK MAILED FROM GERMANY

Several months ago, all addresses on the master mailing list of German-Americans received through the mails a 316-page book entitled: "Die Polnischen Greuelthaten an den Volksdeutschen in Polen." The volume contains hundreds of gruesome pictures which are alleged to show the atrocities committed against Germans in Poland prior to the Nazi occupation of a part of that country.

Exhibit No. 3 is a reproduction of one of the milder photographic double-page spreads from this atrocity book.

The volume weighed 2 pounds and 4 ounces. It was mailed from Germany, and franked with a stamping machine by the German government. The total shipment of these books weighed about 50 tons.

For the distribution of this book in the United States, the entire costs were borne by American taxpayers.

VII. OTHER MAIL SHIPMENTS FROM GERMANY

Exhibit No. 4 is a photographic reproduction of an envelope carrying Nazi propaganda to the United States from Munich. The cancellation reads: "Munchen Hauptstadt der Bewegung." The English translation is, "Munich the Capital of National Socialism." This envelope is marked, "U. S. Customs FREE, Baltimore, Md."

Exhibit No. 5 is a photographic reproduction of an envelope franked in Frankfurt am Main, Germany. The envelope contained printed propaganda material, and is marked "via Sibiria."

Exhibit No. 6 is another photographic reproduction of a wrapper which brought Nazi propaganda to the United States. The word "Eilt," stamped on the wrapper means "Rush." This material was mailed from Berlin.

Exhibit No. 7 is a photographic reproduction of an envelope which contained several cards for remailing after delivery to an addressee in the United States. Special attention is called to the stamp, "via Sibirien-Japan."

Exhibit No. 8 is a photographic reproduction of one of the cards enclosed in the envelope which is marked "Exhibit No. 7." This card is one illustration of Hitler's recent poses as the enemy of "the ruling class" and the friend of the "proletariat."

Exhibit No. 9 is a photographic reproduction of one of the many propaganda pamphlets which are sent through the mails from Germany to this country.

IX. GERMAN LIBRARY OF INFORMATION

The German Library of Information has been the principal propaganda medium of Nazi Germany located in the United States.

The library has built up a mailing list of 70,000 names. (See Exhibit No. 10.)

The library publishes a weekly bulletin known as Facts in Review. This bulletin contains nothing but Nazi propaganda. It goes to clergymen, editors, school teachers, and other persons of influence.

Facts in Review is mailed out under a third-class permit. This is a class of mail on which the Post Office Department (meaning the taxpayers of the United States) incurs an annual deficit.

Exhibit No. 11 is a photographic reproduction of a number of copies of Facts in Review.

In addition to the publication and distribution of Facts in Review, the German Library of Information brings out large editions of expensively printed books and booklets. (See Exhibit No. 12.)

The library is financed entirely from Germany.

X. GERMAN RAILROADS INFORMATION OFFICE

On the surface, it might appear that the German Railroads Information is strictly a travel agency. The organization does, in fact, distribute elaborately printed folders and booklets depicting the scenic beauties of Germany. But, for the present, at least, there is no tourist travel to Germany; and despite this fact the German Railroads Information Office still operates with an annual budget of more than \$100,000. All of the expenses of the office are derived from Germany.

The German Railroads Information Office puts out a weekly news letter called News Flashes from Germany. This periodical is nothing more nor less than Nazi propaganda.

Exhibit No. 13 is a photographic reproduction of some of the travel folders (all of which are printed in Germany) and copies of News Flashes from Germany which are put out by the German Railroads Information Office.

Exhibit No. 14 is a photographic reproduction of the mailing list of the German Railroads Information Office.

Ernst Schmitz, the manager of the German Railroads Information Office, wrote a letter to Manfred Zepp inviting him to a meeting of the Intelligence Service of the Rome-Berlin axis.

XI. OTHER EXHIBITS

Exhibit No. 15 is a photographic reproduction of a slip which has been enclosed with some of the propaganda literature mailed from Germany. The slip invites the recipient of the Nazi propaganda to supply the League for Cultivating Personal Friendships Abroad (Berlin) with name and addresses to be added to the master mailing list in Germany. The principal technique employed by the Nazis in all of their propaganda work discussed in this report up to this point is known as direct mailing. Direct mailing is one of the most effective forms of modern advertising. The evidence before the committee shows that the various propaganda agencies in Germany are utilizing this technique to the limit.

Exhibit No. 16 is a photographic reproduction of a number of copies of the *Deutscher Weckruf*, the official publication of the German-American Bund. This, too, enjoys the privileges of second-class mail, which is a form of Government subsidy. The *Deutscher Weckruf* is strictly a propaganda organ for National Socialism.

Exhibit No. 17 is a photographic reproduction of Japanese pamphlets and publications, all of which are sent through the mails of the United States, and all of which are printed in Japan.

Exhibit No. 18 is a photographic reproduction of books and pamphlets which are printed in Italy and which are sent through the mails to residents of the United States.

Exhibit No. 19 is a photographic reproduction of more books and booklets printed in Italy, and also of the publications of the Italian Library of Information which corresponds to the German Library of Information in its propaganda activities on behalf of Mussolini's regime in Italy.

XII. THE DAILY WORKER

The committee is in possession of a copy of a cablegram in which Clarence Hathaway, editor of the *Daily Worker*, asked Moscow for the correct "line" on the Soviet invasion of Finland. For 17 years the *Daily Worker* has been Moscow's chief journalistic mouthpiece in the United States. The paper is registered with the Department of State as an agent of a foreign principal.

Exhibit No. 20 is a photograph of the bound volumes of the *Daily Worker* from its inception 17 years ago. The photograph was taken in the offices of the committee.

Thousands of citations from the *Daily Worker* could be given to show its complete subservience to Moscow and its disloyalty to the United States. A single citation must suffice for the present report:

In an article by Earl Browder, which appeared in the *Daily Worker* of January 14, 1933, the defeat of the United States is advocated in the event of this country's involvement in war. "In the midst of imperialist war," writes Browder, "the revolutionary working class must put forward the slogan, 'Defeat of *our own* imperialism.'" More than 6 years later, Browder declared his continuing adherence to that same principle, in his testimony before the committee.

The Communist Party employs a special technique in the promotion of the *Daily Worker's* circulation. That technique is the use of shop and neighborhood papers.

The major objectives of the shop and neighborhood papers of the Communist Party are (1) to propagandize directly for the Soviet Union, and (2) to promote the circulation of the Daily Worker.

The shop nucleus or the local neighborhood unit of the party is charged with the responsibility of issuing the shop or neighborhood paper. The Central Committee of the Communist Party has issued a pamphlet entitled "Shop Paper Manual," which was written by Gertrude Haessler.

In this Shop Paper Manual Miss Haessler has set forth in detail the mechanics of publishing a shop paper and the political objectives which it is expected to attain. One of the ways in which the shop paper is expected to propagandize for the totalitarian regime in Russia is described by Miss Haessler in the following words:

Comparisons between local conditions and Russian conditions, given tersely and without flourishes, are very effective sprinkled through columns of this sort.

The shop and neighborhood papers are expected to acquaint their readers with other papers and organizations of the Communist Party. "Every appeal to read the Daily Worker," writes Miss Haessler, "should have the D. W. address." In further comment on this point, the author of the Shop Paper Manual says, "It is unnecessary to explain the importance of pushing the Daily Worker, and practically no shop papers have sinned in this respect."

In Exhibits Nos. 21 and 22, the mastheads of the following shop and neighborhood papers appear:

- RED CHART: Issued Monthly by the Communist Party Unit in Mount Sinai Hospital
- POSTAL WORKER: Published by Postal Telegraph Branch of the Communist Party
- WE THE PEOPLE: Published by the Communist Party—Branches of Sunnyside and Thompson Hill
- COLUMBIA SPARK: Issued by the Columbia (University) Nucleus of the Communist Party and Young Communist League
- CLOSE-UP: Issued by Communist Party Branches in Film Industry
- RED PEN: Issued by the Communist Party Unit of the W. P. A. Federal Writers' Project
- CITY COLLEGE TEACHER WORKER: Issued Monthly by the Communist Party Unit of City College (New York)
- BERGEN BEACON: Published by the Communist Party of Bergen County (New Jersey)
- THE CLASS MARK: Published by the Communist Party Branch of the New York Public Library
- MEDICAL CENTER WORKER: Issued by Communist Party Branch in Medical Center (New York)
- THE GOOD NEIGHBOR: Issued by the Bob Minor Branch, Communist Party
- THE YARD VOICE: Issued by Communist Party Navy Yard Unit (Brooklyn, New York)
- THE VANGUARD SCHOLAR: Published by the Graduate Schools and T. C. Student Branches, Communist Party (Columbia University, New York)
- COLUMBIA GRADUATE SCHOLAR: Issued by Graduate School Unit, Communist Party (Columbia University)
- EAST SIDE POWER WORKER: Issued by the Communists of the East River Station, New York, N. Y.
- COUNSEL: Issued by Communist Party Members of the Adult Guidance Service
- ACTIVE FILE: Issued by the Communist Party Members in the Division of Placement and Unemployment Insurance, N. Y. C.
- THE PROBE: Issued by the Communist Party Unit in Morrisania Hospital (New York, N. Y.)
- RED TAPE: Issued by the Communist Party Branch of 902 Broadway (New York, N. Y.)

- THE 74TH STREET POWER WORKER:** Issued by Communist Party Members in the Power House
- RED PAINT:** Issued by the Communist Party Unit of the Federal Art Project
- G. P. O. WORKER:** Issued by the Government Printing Office Branch of the Communist Party (Washington, D. C.)
- THE RED WRITE-UP:** Issued by the General Post Office Nucleus of the Communist Party (New York, N. Y.)
- HARLEM LESSON PLAN:** Issued Monthly by the Communist Teachers of Harlem (New York, N. Y.)
- THE GERMANTOWN PROGRESSIVE:** Published Monthly by the 22nd Ward Branch of the Communist Party (Philadelphia).
- THE STAFF:** Issued Monthly by the Brooklyn College Unit of the Communist Party of America.
- PEOPLES NEWS:** Issued by the Thirty-Second District, Communist Party (Seattle, Washington).
- THE WRITE-UP:** Issued by the Communist Party Nucleus of Grand Central Post Office (New York).
- BORO HALL NEWS:** Issued by Boro Hall Branch Communist Party, 1st A. D., Kings County, Brooklyn, N. Y.
- VANGUARD:** Published by the 49th Ward Branch of the Communist Party (Philadelphia).
- PORT-LIGHT:** Official Organ Communist Party, U. S. A., New York Seamen and Harbor Workers Branch.
- THE STREAMLINER:** Issued by the South Side Railroad Workers Branch of the Communist Party, Chicago, Illinois.
- TUBE CITY NEWS:** Published by the Communist Party of McKeesport, Pa.
- THE INDEPENDENT VERMONT:** Published Monthly by the Communist Party of Vermont.
- VALLEY VOICE:** Issued by the Communist Party of Turtle Creek Valley, Turtle Creek, Pa.
- AS WE SEE IT:** Issued by the Executive Committee, Summit County Communist Party (Akron, Ohio).
- STAMFORD WORKER:** Issued by the Industrial Unit of the Communist Party, Stamford, Connecticut.
- THE 33RD WARD BEACON:** Published by the 33rd Ward Branch, Communist Party (Philadelphia).
- ARMORY NEWS:** Issued by Groups of Guardsmen, 33rd Division, Illinois National Guard.

It will be seen from the foregoing list of shop and neighborhood papers that the Communist Party is conducting its pro-Soviet propaganda in hospitals, colleges and universities, power plants, telegraph companies, the film industry, Government bureaus and agencies, transportation and shipping industries, and the armed forces.

In order to make clear the whole technique of the Communist Party in its work of publishing shop and neighborhood papers, the party's Shop Paper Manual is reprinted at this point. The cover of the pamphlet is an exact photographic reproduction.

Shop Paper Manual

**A Handbook for Comrades
Active in Shop Paper Work**

10c



Issued by

Central Committee Communist Party, U.S.A.

P. O. Box Station D, N. Y.



SHOP PAPER MANUAL

A Handbook for Comrades Active in Shop Paper Work

INTRODUCTION

The Role of the Shop Paper in the Class Struggle

In view of the strenuous efforts being made to orientate the Party work to the shop and to root the Party firmly in the shop, the development of activity in the field of shop papers becomes more and more essential in Party work. The shop paper is the sharpest weapon in mass agitation in the arsenal of the active Communist. The shop paper is the Communist organ in the shop, reaching the proletariat as no other organ of the Party can.

Shop paper work is extremely exacting work, demanding a patience and accuracy which few other fields of Communist activity require. At the same time it is a field of work in which our comrades have the least experience, due almost entirely to an under-estimation and lack of appreciation of the importance of this effective weapon for capturing the "fortresses of the working class," as Lenin calls the factories.

In getting out a shop paper, its fundamental function—that of being the Communist organ in the shop—must never be lost sight of. The shop paper naturally treats of shop problems and the every day life of the worker of the shop, but it must also interpret to the shop worker all events which affect his life, even in the most indirect way. This requires a political orientation which every Communist organ naturally has. To awaken the class-consciousness of the worker, to defend his interests in all spheres, to widen his horizon of outlook to include the entire working class and all current events, to draw political and organizational conclusions from his problems and from the problems of the entire working class, to develop his feelings of class solidarity, to intensify his fighting spirit, to draw him closer to the Party—these are the by no means insignificant tasks of the shop paper.

And as the time draws nearer for the illegality which will face our Party, the shop paper must do its share first in fighting stubbornly for the Party's right to legality, and should the Party be driven underground or the general Party organs suppressed it becomes of enormous importance in replacing to some extent the general Party organs which are prohibited. In its very nature and from its very inception, the shop paper has a semi-illegal character. It is the best weapon, therefore, to take up and carry on our agitational and propaganda work when the "Daily Worker" and other general Party organs face all the tremendous difficulties of illegality. It is then that the shop papers become the basis for our entire mass agitation.

In our German Party, not only every shop nucleus, but every street nucleus issues a small Party paper. The policy of the German Party, which is being put into effect, is that every Party unit owns its own duplicating machine and puts out its own paper. In Hamburg this was realized to the extent of creating almost 500 shop and neighborhood papers in the various units of the Party.

Early in 1930 the Party organ, the Hamburger Volkszeitung, with a circulation of about 30,000, was suppressed for a period of ten days. During this period our shop papers and neighborhood papers came out daily with an average circulation of 1,000, which meant that the 30,000 copies of the Hamburger Volkszeitung were replaced by 500,000 copies of shop papers and neighborhood papers during the period of this suppression.

Our American Party has not yet reached this stage of development, but we must foresee such situations and prepare ourselves for them. We must develop our shop papers and train ourselves in this work.

Thus a handbook to guide the comrades who participate in this sphere of Communist activity, a handbook which treats of all the aspects of the work exhaustively, is absolutely essential at this time, especially in view of the backwardness of our Party in this work.

The following is the first pamphlet on the subject of shop papers to be printed in this country. It necessarily has all the defects and omissions which arise from the Party's inexperience in this field of activity. The section dealing with

the difficulties of distribution especially is inadequate. This is one of the most important and most difficult problems in connection with getting out a shop paper. But in view of our lack of experience it was necessary merely to throw up the various problems which have to be met in various places, without in many cases suggesting concrete solutions.

It would be wise to issue a special small pamphlet in the near future devoted purely to the subject of distribution, compiled from the experiences gained by our comrades, the difficulties met, and the methods used to overcome them. Until that is issued, the present section on distribution will have to suffice.

GERTRUDE HAESSLER.

December, 1930.

PART I. THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF SHOP PAPER WORK

If we keep in mind our definition of the shop paper, that it is the **Communist organ in the shop**, we realize that this implies two things—one, that the paper must express the political interpretations of the Party, and not become merely a shop newspaper with a purely trade union orientation organizationally, and on the other hand, must guard against becoming too abstract politically, divorced from shop conditions.

Politically the paper must treat of working-class problems as a whole, linking up the material with shop conditions on the one hand and with the Party campaigns on the other. It must interpret working-class problems locally (for instance, the lapse of the rent acts in New York City), nationally (the "Hoover-Green-no-strike" agreement), and internationally (unemployment, war danger, Soviet Union, etc.). It must deepen the political understanding of the workers in the shop—it must explain clearly and simply how, for instance, the machinist at the automatic lathe is affected by the disarmament conference—a think which seems so remote to the average worker.

If the paper deals too exclusively with political questions it becomes simply a bad substitute for a political leaflet, and if it deals too exclusively with shop problems it fails to raise the political level of the workers in the shop.

The greatest difficulty and also our greatest task in dealing with political problems is to link them up with shop conditions, to show the workers how every current event in the world affects his working and living conditions, and those of his whole class. On the basis of shop conditions, the paper must make it clear to the masses how the maneuvers of trust capital, the intrigues of the fascist A. F. of L. and its social-fascist "left wing," the concentration of capital and rationalization, the nature of the bourgeois state, class collaboration, imperialist armament races, the preparations for war against the Soviet Union—how all these affect the every-day life and working conditions of the masses, resulting in more intensive exploitation, growing misery, increasing political oppression, and in more brutal methods to stifle all efforts of the workers to change these conditions.

How to make such things as these clear to an unclass-conscious needle trades worker in a New York sweatshop, or to a mountaineer textile mill hand in North Carolina, or to a Negro farmer from the South who has just taken a job in the Ford factory in Detroit, or to a Mexican agricultural laborer in the Imperial Valley—that is the task of the shop paper—a difficult task, but one which must be dealt with if the shop paper is to be a genuine Communist organ.

Stereotyped editorials must therefore be avoided. We can no longer hand out the monthly political editorial to the various shop nuclei from the District Center, printing the self-same article in every paper in the District. The same subject, of course, and the same fundamental line for all—but linked up with the special shop conditions and made intelligible and interesting to the workers of that particular shop and industry.

On the opposite page are examples of what is meant by linking up a political article with actual immediate shop conditions. These were articles which actually appeared in two different shop papers during the Party's election campaign. The one on the left shows a splendid approach to the subject on the basis of shop conditions, developing from that premise the analysis of what the various parties stand for, and ending with good slogans well placed.

The one on the right is an example of how not to approach the workers on a political issue. Politically undeveloped workers don't give a hang what

the Communists in Germany happen to be doing. They are interested in fighting their own wretched conditions right here in the shop, and don't get the same thrill out of the successes of our German comrades that our Party members do. This must be kept carefully in mind in approaching these undeveloped workers. In this article shop conditions seem to be dragged in by the tail, in the middle of the article, without any connection with the German elections, and the analysis of what the other three parties are doing doesn't make it clear to the shop worker that these Parties not only do not help them, but are actually their enemies. And the analysis of the Party position is simply one of struggling to get a bill passed through Congress, with the slogans at the end crowded, and again too remote from the shop conditions.

THE "VOTE COMMUNIST" ARTICLES CONTRASTED

LINKING UP WITH SHOP CONDITIONS

Five hundred men laid off—the rest working three days a week—and more thrown out every day. That is the way things are in Ford's now. Five hundred men locked out of the shop, thrown into the streets, increasing the number of the millions of unemployed.

The rest of us making wages for three days a week. With the army of pushers on our backs, taking advantage of the situation to abuse us more than humans can stand. Anything is considered a good enough excuse to throw a worker out of a job.

Winter coming, with no relief in sight. The A. F. of L. says unemployment insurance is not necessary because prosperity is "just around the corner."

The Democrats say the Republicans are to blame, but they don't tell us how they will change it. Talk a lot about unemployment, but don't do anything.

The Republicans say it is too bad, but they can't help it, and anyway it is good for the country, as now business can get back on a "sound" basis—more speed-up, more lay-offs.

The Socialists say unemployment is terrible—we must "study" it. In the meantime, the A. F. of L. is "wise" not to call any strikes in a period of depression. Let the bosses cut wages, increase speed-up but the workers must "cooperate" in helping to bring the country back to normal—if they don't starve first.

Only the Communist Party tells the workers to do something—to fight for unemployment insurance, to fight against evictions of workers from their homes, to demand work or wages, to refuse to starve.

Workers! Vote against starvation, speed-up and lay-offs.

VOTE COMMUNIST!

The above are articles which appeared in shop papers, the one on the left showing a splendid approach to the subject, on the basis of shop conditions, the one on the right giving an approach without interest to politically undeveloped workers, with the shop approach hidden in the body of the article and not properly linked up with the subject.

PART II. SHOP CONDITIONS AND TRADE-UNION WORK

Again keeping in mind that the shop paper is the organ of the Communist Party in the shop, we must, in dealing with shop abuses, champion the worker in his day-to-day struggle in the shop and propose immediate solutions where they exist. Pushing trade-union organization becomes, therefore, one of the paramount tasks of the shop paper. We must, at the same time, guard against allowing the paper to become simply a trade-union organizer, and must never allow our political work and our ultimate goal—the overthrow of the capitalist system—to be pushed into the background by these immediate aims and solutions.

In handling the shop conditions, the tendency must be guarded against of simply pointing out abuses and allowing the workers to draw their own conclusions as to the proper remedy. Our Party work is orientated toward reaching the great masses of unorganized, and in getting out our shop paper, which is the best avenue we have to reach these unorganized workers, we must be very specific

A REMOTE INTRODUCTION

The Communist Party of Germany in the recent election campaign has just demonstrated in a striking manner that it is a mass party with a following of more than 4½ millions of workers and poor farmers.

The Communist Party is the leading party in Berlin. It has received three-quarters of a million votes in Berlin thus making it the foremost party. The German workers showed the way to the American workers what must be done in the coming elections.

Our conditions are becoming worse every day. We are forced to work 9½ hours a day at the rate of 60 units per hour. If the company catches a worker talking or smiling he is fired immediately. The speed-up is great and as a result hundreds of workers are laid off and many accidents occur.

The capitalist parties—Democrats, Republicans, and Socialists do not present any program for the abolition of the speed-up or shortening of the working day and relief for the unemployed. Their main plank is wet or dry. Is this the main issue today? Isn't unemployment a much more important issue for every worker?

The Communist Party, however, proposes the **Workers Social Insurance Bill**, and pledges itself to carry on a determined struggle for its passage. The only way this can be accomplished is by the workers, both employed and unemployed to organize together under the leadership of the Communist Party.

Workers! Fight for the Workers' Social Insurance Bill—Vote Communist.

in our organizational recommendations. It is not enough, either, to say that joining a union will remedy certain abuses. Tell which union, tell something about it, give its address, explain its form of organization on the basis of shop committees, warn against the fakery of A. F. of L. officials and Muste-ite reformists—all in simple language. For do not forget that it is precisely the unorganized worker who has no tradition of organization, who has no knowledge of the benefits to be derived from a union, who does not realize the role of union organization in the class struggle—in fact, who must be taught from the very beginning the simplest fundamentals of worker solidarity.

Our aim has always been the establishment of real functioning shop committees as a basis for a strong union organization. In many cases a transitional organization leading ultimately to the formation of the shop committee will be necessary, which can take the form of a grievance committee for organizing the workers for struggle on the basis of grievances in the shop and for the partial demands arising from them. The grievance committees will rally the workers to fight against rationalization and oppression in the factories, and should be used as a means of establishing the unions openly in the shop, struggling at the same time for the freedom of the workers to assemble, speak and agitate in the factories, which demand must be raised in all strike struggles.

One of the principal tasks of a shop paper must be to initiate actions on the part of the workers in the shop even if it is on a small scale, for we cannot expect to have an immediate movement for strike action, without some preparation in struggle. One small instance, which is not of much importance in itself, but which illustrates how the shop paper can gain prestige among the workers for the Party, is the case where the paper roused the workers to give expression to their resentment against the cutting off of the Christmas bonus which they were accustomed to getting. When the notice of the boss was posted, the shop paper initiated a movement demanding that the bonus be paid to the workers, asking them through the shop paper to chalk up the entire shop with the word "bonus" and indicate their demands for the payment of this bonus. This was done throughout the entire shop. The effect was splendid not only on the workers, but upon the Party. The workers had an outlet for expressing their discontent, and in following the suggestion in the shop paper, they recognized the leadership of the shop paper in their struggles, even though these struggles weren't sharp. Such small matters, as they gradually accumulate, build up a strike movement when a big issue comes, and the shop paper becomes the accepted spokesman of the workers in their larger struggles.

In starting the shop paper, have the trade-union policy of the Party which applies to that shop clearly in mind. Then follow a conscious, definite policy of unfolding an organizational plan in the shop, developing it with each new number of the paper in accordance with developing conditions in the shop and the response of the workers. Only a consistently carried out policy will bring the organizational results.

At the same time the District Industrial Department and the union must be ready to do concrete organizational work in the shop. We can hammer away at the necessity of organizing for months and months, stir up a great deal of interest in union organization among the workers, and if we are not organizationally ready to receive them, all that work is lost.

Everything that happens in the shop—whether insignificant or important, must be taken advantage of to draw the proper organizational conclusions—hammering away at the necessity of the union, but also drawing the ultimate conclusions of the necessity of abolishing the capitalist system. If there is an accident in the shop, if there is a wage reduction, if a worker is arbitrarily fired, if a foreman is unusually hard-boiled—any of these can be used as a basis of pointing out the necessity of mass solidarity and the futility and danger of individual protest.

Stress solidarity with other unions and foster the feeling of working class solidarity not only on a national scale but on an international scale as well. This can be done by carrying news of workers' struggle outside the shops, appeals for strikers in other places in the same industry, or in other industries. In this respect, conditions in Soviet Russia must always be featured, with the proper conclusion of how to get them for ourselves.

A conscious policy must also be followed in popularizing Labor Unity among the shop workers. It is very necessary that this be conscientiously done not only for the development of the workers themselves, but also to give Labor Unity the mass base it needs.

Fight the company unions, whatever their guise—industrial conference, athletic clubs, mutual aid organizations, etc.—either capture them and make them serve the workers, which is difficult—but it has been done—or smash them by exposing them.

But don't create illusions as to what the union can give the workers. Never fail to stress that it is only the overthrow of the capitalist system that can do away with the abuses from which the working class is suffering today.

PART III. SPECIAL SUBJECTS

"Divide and rule" is the slogan of the boss when he takes advantage of the special problems created by certain divisions of the working class. To meet this well known device of the bosses, the shop paper must make every effort to deal with the special interests of those workers who, in addition to the general exploitation from which all workers suffer, are the constant target of special discrimination and exploitation.

As far as the women are concerned, not only must the shop workers be given special attention, but also the wives of the men workers, for a clear understanding of the class struggle on their part will do much to raise the morale of their husbands. Every effort must be made to involve these housewives in any class struggle activity within the shops.

The increasing role which the young workers are playing in industry and their strategic position in the class struggle when war breaks out, makes careful attention to their problems absolutely imperative.

The clannishness of the various foreign-born and their prejudices against each other, which are deliberately fostered by the bourgeoisie, are very strong and require constant combatting. This is particularly true of the colored foreign-born, such as the Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Hindus, Mexicans, etc.

But there is one section of the working class in America which occupies a unique position, and that is the Negro. His problem, in addition to that of being a doubly exploited member of the working class, and of suffering from race discrimination, is that of being a member of an oppressed national minority within the country, struggling for national expression and national self-determination. This must be taken carefully into account in any dealing with the problems of the Negro, creating a special situation even compared to the other doubly exploited sections of the American working class.

Where any such section of workers comprises a large part of the employees, special pages or special columns should be devoted in the shop paper to their problems. If the situation warrants it, a special youth paper should be issued, or perhaps the Party and League can issue a joint paper. Where large sections of workers speak a foreign language, a page devoted to material of special interest to them, and written in their language should be set aside. This invites the confidence of those workers, who, due to language handicaps, have great difficulty in taking their place in the general class struggle in this country. These workers should be encouraged to contribute so that they feel that these special sections belong to them.

The main object in running these special sections is to increase the feeling of solidarity of the workers of the entire plant, irrespective of the lines drawn by sex, color, age, and nationality, and thus to create more solid fighting ranks when the inevitable clashes against the employer occur. To foster this feeling of solidarity in a systematic and tactful manner is one of the chief duties of the shop paper in any factory where these divisions in the ranks of the workers exist.

Not only to win over these doubly exploited sections, not only to explain to them the role which the employers force them to play, but also to make it clear to the other workers (who are in a relatively better position), how the employer is keeping them divided, is the duty of every shop paper.

In a clear and sympathetic handling of such situations we can win over this doubly exploited type of worker and also do away with the prejudices against him on the part of other workers which the employer so consciously fosters.

PART IV. ORGANIZATIONAL ASPECTS OF SHOP PAPER WORK

In the practical matter of getting out a shop paper, two things must be kept in mind—the aim must be to have the paper issued regularly, and the greatest care must be taken that everything written is absolutely accurate.

Regularity instills confidence in the paper and in the Party on the part of the workers, and allows a more consistent organizational policy to be carried out. Accuracy is absolutely essential, for if we print news which is false, based merely on rumor, then instead of becoming the leaders of the workers, we simply become the laughing stock of the shop.

HOW THE NUCLEUS WORKS

All this requires that the members of the nucleus itself assume the main responsibility for gathering and getting the material ready for issuing. The habit which some of the districts have, of merely inquiring from the workers what the conditions are in the shop, and writing the paper from above, is absolutely a wrong basis for issuing a shop paper. It is easy to make mistakes that way, and it is imperative that the nucleus members see every word of the paper when it is ready to be printed.

The main reason, however, for making the nuclei members do their own gathering and getting out of material, is to make it really a paper for the shop, an organ of the Communist nucleus with the complete responsibility in the hands of the nucleus. This does not mean that the workers must not get all necessary help from the District—political guidance, technical apparatus, etc. Also, if no member of the nucleus has a sufficient command of English, the District must attach one or two comrades who can write—but always in close cooperation with the workers themselves. Thus we train our own comrades to watch their shop events and to interpret them for their fellow workers. Thus we give the paper a real base in the shop and avoid the sad experiences where five or six shop papers would collapse at one time when the District Organizer, who has personally written all the papers himself, would be transferred elsewhere.

The best method yet found in getting out a well-rounded, politically correct and accurate shop paper, especially in nuclei where it is necessary to attach outside comrades to do the actual writing, is to have a meeting of the shop paper committee of the nucleus, or where the nucleus is small, and all members are responsible for the shop paper, of the entire nucleus (including the attached members) about a week before the paper is due to be issued. Here the events in the shop are discussed, the proper conclusions drawn, the method agreed upon of linking the current political article (dependent on the current Party campaigns) with the shop conditions, and the material apportioned out among those who will write it.

The interpretations and conclusions must, however, be suggested by the members working in the shop, which does not always mean that they will be correct. But every member must be encouraged to help in the interpretive tasks of the work and even to write the articles, no matter how bad the English, leaving for the attached comrades merely the task of improving style and clarity. Only thus will we train our members and push the work forward. The spirit of the workers in the shop, their own instinctive feelings about events in the shop, can be caught only by our own comrades who share in the daily work and the daily exploitation in that shop, and to catch this atmosphere is infinitely more important than correct style and pleasing language.

Five days should be enough for the comrades to write up their material. Then another meeting is held to go over the finished material. Here the members in the shop again play the main role, for whether they have written the material themselves or merely given the information for others to write—it is absolutely necessary for them to see every word before it is printed to make sure that the material they gave was not misunderstood or misinterpreted by those not working in the shop. This requires a great deal of patience, but it must be done. When everything has been verified, the material should be ready for distribution to the workers within two days. Somewhere in the process the District or Section must see the material to insure its political correctness. That is a detail which can be determined best by local conditions.

There is no excuse for taking longer than a week to get out the paper complete, and there is every reason for rushing it as fast as circumstances permit. It has frequently happened that the getting out of the paper has taken so long that the news was old by the time it got into the hands of the workers. Sometimes the paper contained announcements of events that had taken place in the meantime. This is inexcusable and creates a bad impression among the workers.

In the technical work of the paper it is again best if the members in the shop do as much of the work as the technical knowledge required permits. This again with the object of fostering in the members the spirit that the work of the shop paper is their work, it is their organ, to bring their Communist views before their fellow workers.

But the nucleus must never forget, even where it is small, and where the entire nucleus is drawn into activity in connection with the shop paper, that this is not their only function in the shop. Responsibility and concentrated activity in getting out a shop paper does not absolve the nucleus members from the general activity within the shop.

DISTRIBUTION

When it comes to distribution, no set rule can be followed, since local conditions will determine the most feasible plan. **Every effort should be made to distribute the paper inside the mill.** This is extremely difficult, for every precaution must be taken not to expose the comrades working within the factory, not only to protect them against losing their jobs, but mainly to keep our base in that factory. Careful plans must be made beforehand each month to determine the strategy of distribution within the factory, in order to accomplish the distribution without interference and to insure that each worker gets his copy. Those workers who are not attached to a certain place within the factory, but who have freedom of movement within the building—such as carpenters, electrical workers, painters, repairmen, cleaning women, messenger boys, etc.—should be used as much as possible if they can do this work without detection.

Advantage must be taken of any connections with any sympathetic worker within the factory who might facilitate this work. Sympathetic foremen, who are willing to close their eyes to these proceedings (at least till it gets hot for them personally), can sometimes be found. A successful scheme was carried out in New York where a comrade not working in the shop after careful instructions from the nucleus, boldly walked into the shop during the noon hour (the workers ate their lunch in the shop), and brazenly distributed the paper with a hostile foreman looking on. Such schemes work once or twice and should be used, but of course they cannot be depended upon.

But there are hundreds of other ways of distributing within the shop. The papers can be distributed on the various raw materials which the workers are handling, on the conveyors, on the benches, in the clothes closets, in the toilets, elevators, stairs. Small supplies can be left here and there and word passed around that they are available. These supplies should be replenished as soon as they are exhausted, but large amounts simply invite confiscation.

Inside secret distribution must take place one or two days **before** outside distribution. Inside distribution never reaches every worker, and those who didn't receive a copy will be on the look-out to get one at the gates a day or two later. If, however, outside distribution takes place first, the boss and stool pigeons will be on the lookout and inside distribution becomes very dangerous.

Where it is found to be absolutely impossible to distribute the paper within the factory, then comrades who do not belong to the nucleus must undertake the distribution outside the factory gates. This involves the same caution and the same risks as any leaflet distribution except that the employer is much more apt to be more aggressive in combating this distribution, since it hits him more directly than a general political leaflet or call to a general mass meeting. In some towns this is extremely difficult—company towns, for instance, or small towns with one large factory where all inhabitants know one another. These difficulties peculiar to local conditions must be solved according to the situation which exists. For instance, where the workers get into the streetcars or busses within the factory gates, ingenuity is necessary to get the paper to them. It has even been found necessary to make a general distribution at streetcar transfer corners as the workers get off the cars, or in the districts where many of them live. As a last resort, if a list can be obtained, the papers can be sent by mail to the workers in their homes, but this is not only an arduous task but is undesirable in other ways. It has sometimes been found feasible to leave a small supply with some friendly shopkeeper near the factory, and word passed around the factory that the paper is available there. The supply must be replenished as quickly as it is exhausted to insure that workers who want them can get them, but large amounts should not be left for fear of confiscation.

With the Party concentrating more on detailed work, and the building up of contacts through patient personal work, it is imperative that the shop paper also be used in such activity. For instance, the comrades inside the factory may notice that a certain worker is sympathetic, or perhaps the worker at the next machine looks like a good subject for propaganda. By taking the number of the worker's badge, and finding out from his time card (which bears the same number) what his name and address is, the shop paper can either be sent to him

direct by mail, or delivered to him by some comrade not working near him. A gradual building up of such a mailing list or such personal contacts is invaluable for the other activities of the nucleus within the shop.

In connection with the building up of a mailing list, the experience of the Ford Worker in Detroit might be taken as an example. Three or four hundred workers in the factory subscribed to the paper, and this mailing list constantly grew, extending beyond Detroit. Workers in Ford shops throughout the country and even some in Europe put themselves on the mailing list, paying the subscription price. Such a mailing list must be strictly adhered to.*

FINANCING THE PAPER

The question of whether to sell the paper or hand it out is not only a problem of distribution, but also one of the general problems of financing the paper. The ideal to be aimed at is to make the paper self-sustaining. If the paper gains the prestige it should have as a live Communist organ, it will gradually come to be financed by the workers in the factory, but a financial start must be given to it, just as to any new paper launched by the Party. One of the biggest mistakes in the past has been to have the District finance the entire paper, without the nuclei making any effort whatever to raise the funds in some way. The claims of the nuclei numbers, that it is impossible to raise any money, have been proven false. There are various ways of raising the money. The paper has been sold successfully in many instances. The draw-backs here are first of all the difficulties already pointed out in distribution, but also that the workers are afraid to be seen buying the paper, whereas they are perfectly willing to accept it when it is thrust into their hands. Also the hurry of distribution makes making change, etc., difficult. The German Party has found it feasible to pass out small handbills some days before distribution, telling something about the paper, appealing for funds, giving the price, the date when it will be distributed, and asking the workers to have the correct change ready. This is not always advisable, since it will bring down the watchfulness of the employer upon the distributors.

The objective situation at present, however, makes it more and more possible to sell the paper. Perhaps the first time the paper is issued, and even the second issue, can be distributed free, after which we must insist, however, that the paper be sold. The first few times that it is sold, it may happen that hundreds of copies are left on our hands, and hundreds of workers go without the paper, but this should not discourage the comrades, for as the paper gains in popularity, more and more papers will be sold each time. Especially if the paper has had an effective distribution within the factory before selling it at the gate, the fact that all the workers were not reached, should not be used as an excuse to return to free distribution.

In Detroit, where many shop papers are issued in large factories, a comrade was put on full time to sell them, and the papers were so issued that he was kept busy throughout the month, actually making his living out of the sales, besides paying for the printing of the papers.

But money must be raised among the workers in other ways. If the paper cannot begin to build itself up on the spirit of cooperation and self-sacrifice of the workers during this period of revolutionary upsurge, then there is something wrong with the paper in not being able to awaken this spirit among the workers. The paper must be based on the workers. If it is not, then we stand in danger of being isolated from the broad masses in all our activity because of the financial weakness of the Party in general. It is possible to circulate collection lists if this is carefully done. It is also possible to sell special shop paper stamps to workers who have shown interest in the paper. Workers sympathetic to the movement but not members of the Party can easily be used for this work, if they are made to understand its financial necessity and agitational value. Above all,

*This section is necessarily inadequate, due to lack of experience in meeting the various difficulties that arise in various places. It would be advisable to issue a small pamphlet dealing exclusively with this subject in all its details, written by a group of comrades who have had varied experiences in this connection. Until this is done, this section, which merely raises the problems without attempting to solve them in all cases, must suffice, and the comrades must use all their initiative and originality in overcoming whatever difficulties are placed in their way.

the workers in the factory must not get the idea that the C. P. has untold funds at its disposal—they must be made to understand that the nucleus members are struggling to get the paper out and that it is imperative for them to help if they wish it to continue.

Appeals for support must also be made through the columns of the paper. It has happened in some instances that workers in the factory, in response to such appeals, took it upon themselves to make collections among their friends, and personally brought the sum to the Party office. It may also be possible to get a friendly shop-keeper in the neighborhood to allow a collection box for the paper to be put on his counter, and collections made by lists on his premises. In very large factories, it is possible to solicit advertising from neighboring shops. All this, just as in determining the method of distribution, is so dependent on local conditions, that the nucleus members must themselves exercise the greatest ingenuity to bring about the desired result.

WHERE TO START A SHOP PAPER

How large must a factory be before it is worth while launching a shop paper? In deciding this, keep in mind that to get out an issue of a shop paper requires a great deal of time, patience, energy, and care. The prospects for good results must justify the investment of the efforts required. This means that more factors should enter into consideration than mere numbers of workers in the factory. Is it a small shop in a decisive war industry or a large shop manufacturing, let us say, buttons? If it comes to a choice, then the former by all means should be chosen. A big factor is our sources of information from within the factory. Is our nucleus small or large? Have we a following of sympathizers from whom we can get information? Will they be dependable when the terror against the suspected workers begins? Can we keep up the paper month after month? Are our workers inside spread over various departments or all concentrated in one department, which would make our material one-sided, and focus attention of the spies upon that department? Judgment must be used, with all these factors in mind, but a shop with less than 100 workers under any circumstances, is most likely not worth the investment of Party energy that goes into a good shop paper. There is one other consideration. If the only opportunity for starting a shop paper in a District is one in which all the above considerations are adverse, it might still be worth while making the effort for the sake of the training the Party itself gets in this important work, the very fact that experience is being gained and a start made. Then, when better opportunities come later, we will be experienced and ready for them.

CAPITALIZING ORGANIZATIONALLY ON OUR EFFORTS

The point on which we have so far been weakest in our shop paper work is reaping the harvest of the intense work that goes into issuing a regular shop paper. The reason for this is that the entire Party is backward in shop paper work, which is only in its beginning stages, and while still trying to put the work itself on its feet, we haven't yet learned to capitalize the effects organizationally. If the nucleus doesn't grow, if the union doesn't develop, if the Daily Worker and Labor Unity don't get a foothold among the workers—then we are neglecting the concrete organizational work for which the basis should have been laid by the agitation and propaganda of the shop paper. If we have not gained the confidence of the workers sufficiently to encourage them to get into contact with us, either by correspondence or otherwise, if we have not succeeded in enlisting their support financially, then something is wrong with the appeal the paper is trying to make.

Sometimes the cause is the fact that our nucleus is too small to be effective. In the effort to keep our base in the shop, in order to maintain our sources of information, the comrades are over-cautious in their shop activity, to the detriment of the organizational activities. This is the great drawback in starting a paper where we have too few forces.

Organizational work has to be done carefully and cautiously, but it can be done under even the most difficult circumstances. It is part of shop paper work and must not be neglected.

PART V. MISCELLANEOUS DETAILS

There are quite a number of details in connection with getting out a shop paper, some of which are extremely important.

CHOOSING A NAME

The name of the paper must mean something. It should be one which the workers take to easily. It must express our program, our fighting spirit, or the relation of the paper to the shop in question. Wherever the workers themselves have developed a nickname for the factory, it can be incorporated into the name of the paper. It should express a driving force of some kind. In the Johnson and Johnson "Red Cross" factory the paper is named the "Red Star." The White Motor Company's paper is the "Red Motor." In the American Safety Razor Company the paper is called the "Workers' Blade." "Spark Plug" for auto, "Headlight" for railroad yards, "Blast" for a mine—all these express something. If it is impossible to find a good name, then the ordinary name of "So-and-so Worker" will do. The name must never limit the scope of the paper, such as "The So-and-so Organizer" or "The So-and-so Shop News."

FACE OF THE PARTY

In our shop papers the face of the Party must never be hidden. Some comrades hesitate to issue the paper in the name of the nucleus for fear the workers will be prejudiced against the paper, due to the prejudices which have been instilled into the workers against anything savoring of Communism. But is it conceivable that a paper can be issued without revealing the fact that Communists are publishing it, when it puts forth Communist views and gives Communist interpretations to all events? Then why the objections to issuing the paper in the name of the Party? The Party is trying to get its roots in the shop. Any prestige that comes from the paper, from rallying the workers to struggle, from any successes, small or large, which were gained under the leadership of the paper, should go to the Party.

Some comrades who favor the issuing of the shop paper in the name of the shop committee or of the union think only of the immediate gains to be made thereby, fearing the name of the Party will interfere with successful union organization within the shop. These comrades must not forget that the Party must have its roots in the shop, and that it is the Party which is the political spokesman of the working class. The union can issue leaflets, can hold factory gate meetings, but the regular monthly periodical in the shop—the spokesman for all the workers interpreting their problems in the light of the class struggle—is a Party publication.

Therefore we can say in general that the shop papers should be published by the Party nucleus as the spokesman for all the workers in the shop. If, in special circumstances, it seems advisable to issue the paper under other auspices, this should only be done after decision by a responsible Party committee.

No opportunity must be lost to urge the workers to join the Party. This is too often neglected. In political articles, in slogans, in articles on shop conditions—always encouragement to join and the assurance of protection and caution.

COMRADELY TONE OF PAPER

Some papers have developed a patronizing tone which is absolutely impermissible, for the workers must be made to feel that the shop paper is their paper, their champion, expressing their feelings and solving their problems. The Communist Party is not issuing the paper from the outside "for the workers"; the members of the Communist Party within the shop are issuing the paper, and do so with the cooperation of the workers in the shop, so that the paper becomes the spokesman of all the workers within the shop.

Thus the term "you workers" must be avoided. The friendly and comradely tone must be struck which one would expect from any Communist trying to explain to workers and to lead them. The style of writing must be the vigorous, clear, and rugged language which workers speak, and not the finished style of the college graduate. It must be orientated toward the simple and direct way in which proletarians think, and as much as possible foreign words and involved terms must be avoided. However, certain phrases which have come to be internationally used by the working class in all languages—such as "proletariat," for instance, should be popularized.

SLOGANS

Slogans play an important part in shop papers, not only politically and in popularizing our Party campaigns and slogans, but also technically, in breaking up the paper, giving it an attractive appearance. Care should be taken, however, that the slogans are connected up with the contents of the paper and not stuck in just to fill up space, entirely divorced from anything the paper contains.

DEMANDS

Each paper should have a set of demands which it prints in each issue. They should be simple, concrete demands, understandable to and capable of rallying the widest masses, linking up the fight for partial demands with the fight for the general class demands of the proletariat and final demands of the Party. In the preparation of these demands as wide a mass of workers in the factories should be consulted as is possible.

The workers become familiar with these demands, know what the paper and what the Party stands for, and in case of a strike, the most natural thing will be for them to try to adopt these demands and possibly even fight for them in face of A. F. of L. official resistance.

WORKERS' CORRESPONDENCE

Workers' Correspondence has become sufficiently a feature of our Party press to make any explanation of its value unnecessary here. It should be fostered in every way possible. Hostile letters should be printed and answered in an editor's note in a tactful manner. The papers should encourage the workers to write, assuring caution and protection, pointing out that grammar and style are not essential, encouraging letters in foreign languages. If the workers are shy or afraid to write, it is advisable to print a few letters for a time written by outside comrades, but here care must be taken that they sound like real workers' letters and reveal actual conditions in the shop.

The appeal to the workers to write articles on their experiences and grievances should be very prominently displayed. This is so important that a boxed space on the front page should be devoted to it. Especially in towns where the spy system and terror is very great we must state definitely that the workers need not sign their names or addresses if they do not wish to.

The correspondence which comes in from workers must serve as the basis of the entire shop news of the paper. For this reason it is advisable not to print the letters in a special correspondence column, but to print them as articles, part and parcel of the general contents of the paper. Any conclusions which must be drawn from these articles, either politically or organizationally can either be done in a separate article, referring to the worker's article as a basis, or the editor can add a short Editor's Note to the article itself.

Letters written by workers should not be tampered with before being printed. In case they are extremely long, they can be cut here and there and an editorial note added, telling the worker the letter had to be cut and asking him, when he writes again, to be a little briefer. But the method of expression should not be improved, formulations should not be changed, for the workers resent having their work tampered with.

ADDRESS

The address of the paper should be conspicuously printed, and as often in each issue as necessary. When an appeal is made to join the Party, the address should be printed with it. And it is advisable that each issue contain a little box in one corner of the paper giving address, price, editor (Communist nucleus), etc., just as any newspaper does. The address should be easily found by the worker for sometimes we can catch him "to obey that impulse" if we make it easy for him. Printing the address in the middle or end of a long article is inadvisable, for every worker does not read every article in the paper.

Every appeal to read the "Daily Worker" should have the D. W. address. Every appeal to send funds for some purpose or other must not fail to have the address, no matter how often it appears elsewhere in the paper.

DATE AND NUMBER

Putting the date on the paper and the number of the issue seems like an unimportant matter, but why not try to be as much like a newspaper as possible? How much easier is it to refer to previous issues, or to certain issues of brother shop papers elsewhere when occasion arises, to say nothing of making easier the task of the Party reviewer at the Center?

CLEVER DEVICES

To make the subject matter as interesting as possible, especially in treating of subjects usually considered "dry" by the workers, is of paramount importance. Marxian economics can be easily and simply explained by means of imaginary conversations between workers in the shop, one of them class-conscious and the other who doesn't understand much but is eager to learn and asks questions. In this way also the imperceptible wage-cutting tricks of the boss can be explained, also how races are played against one another, etc.

A "tour" through a department in the factory each month written in a lively sarcastic style has been used with great success, rousing interest and amusement, and showing up various abuses in a style free from all monotony.

DAILY WORKER

It is unnecessary to explain the importance of pushing the Daily Worker and practically no shop papers have sinned in this respect. Our language press must also be pushed in those factories where large sections of one nationality are employed.

"THERE ARE NO ISSUES"

Some comrades working in shops resist the launching of a shop paper there by claiming that conditions there are so much better than in other shops that there are no issues to write about. This is nonsense. There is no shop under capitalism where exploitation does not take place and where consequent abuses do not inevitably follow.

Sometimes the comrades, along with all the other workers in the shop, don't even realize the number of abuses in the shop, because they are so accustomed to them. So when any worker says "there are no issues," a little questioning on very simple matters will bring out hundreds of little abuses which the workers don't look upon as issues—for instance, the matter of strictness of discipline which the workers instinctively resent, where a worker is docked a half-hour for being a minute late. An item on such an issue is appreciated by the workers and they quickly react to it. Where the factory doesn't furnish waste or other materials for the workers to wipe the grease and dirt from their hands, dirty toilets, bullying foremen, wage cuts, speed-up, various forms of discrimination, stool pigeons, accidents, all these things are real issues around which workers can be mobilized for struggle.

SPECIAL EDITIONS

Special editions of the bulletin, besides the regular monthly edition, should be issued whenever an event of more than ordinary interest happens in the factory, and these special editions, even though they may have to be limited just to one page, must be ready promptly, immediately after the event, when the interest of the workers is at its highest. Such occasions would be the posting of a wage cut, a bad accident, the firing of a worker for union or shop paper activity, etc., etc. Any such event must be taken advantage of not only to call for the proper action, but also to make the proper Communist analysis organizationally and politically. These special editions must not be confused with the special numbers devoted to Party campaigns such as Unemployment Day, Anti-War Day, etc.

LIGHT FEATURES

A paper without humor and other light touches will be a monotonous affair. Joke columns called by some appropriate name and run in each issue, containing humorous happenings from the shop as well as jokes, should be featured in all papers. Striking observations on the class struggle and current events should

be included. But the jokes should not be silly futile things, divorced from the class struggle. It is a good idea to make collections of jokes which can be used in future, and to get those from other shop papers and adapt them if necessary. Comparisons between local conditions and Russian conditions, given tersely and without flourishes, are very effective sprinkled through columns of this sort.

QUOTATIONS

Quotations from Communist writers can be sprinkled throughout the paper, as the Daily Worker does it, but they should not be disconnected from the rest of the contents of the paper, and should not be involved. We must again keep in mind that we are directing our paper to the broad masses of workers, and putting an involved quotation from Marx into the paper just to fill up a small space, is incomprehensible to them. If it follows an article with which there is some connection, that is a different story. Such quotations can also be collected and kept for use at appropriate times.

VERSE

Poems, if not too long, add to the attraction of a paper, but too much space must not be allotted to them. If sent in by workers in the factory, they should be printed if at all suitable.

MASS ORGANIZATIONS

There are two evils which have developed in connection with the non-Party mass organizations under Party guidance. One is that enough space is not given to them, to explanations of what they are doing, and to recruiting for them. Sometimes appeals for funds are published for one or the other, without explanation of their value to the working class struggle. The other evil is the opposite extreme. Sometimes one can find appeals to workers to join five or six different organizations all in one issue. This only confuses the worker unfamiliar with any of them. Choose the proper occasion—if there is an article on the Atlanta Cases, for instance, then run an International Labor Defense appeal somewhere near it, but separately from it, with a brief explanation of the activities of the organization. If the article is on some large strike, push the role of the Workers International Relief. If it is the anti-Soviet campaign and the conspiracy, play up the Friends of the Soviet Union—and so on.

ABBREVIATIONS

If the habit of the Party to call organizations by their initials has become confusing to even the Party members, how much more confusing it must be to the average workers reading in the shop papers about such mysterious things as I. L. D., F. S. U., W. I. R., I. W. O., T. U. U. L., L. S. N. R., Comintern, Profintern, Krestintern, Eccl, Polcom, etc. Abbreviations should be avoided.

ADVERTISING MEETINGS

In advertising meetings to which we want the workers to come, it is advisable, in addition to giving a brief description of the purpose of the meeting, to print a form like a ticket which will entitle bearer to free admission into the meeting. This not only draws the workers to the meetings, but gives us a means of checking up to some extent how the influence of the shop paper is growing among the workers.

COMPANY ORGANS

As a general rule, the papers the boss puts out are feeble and weak affairs, but sometimes they are very clever and vicious. In either case they must not be overlooked or ignored. The first kind must be ridiculed and the second seriously combatted ideologically, with all its tricks exposed.

PART VI. TECHNICAL MAKE-UP

There are three main methods of technically getting out a shop paper—printing, mimeographing, and multigraphing. Many comrades take for granted that printing is the best method. It has its advantages, but also great disadvantages.

PRINTED SHOP PAPERS

Neatness in appearance is one of the great advantages of printing. The shop papers look more like the miniature newspaper they are supposed to be. But two great drawbacks counterbalance these considerations—the expense and the superior advantage the mimeographed paper has for profuse illustrations and original work.

It may be found that it is easier to sell a printed paper than a mimeographed one, which deserves great consideration, especially if the amounts realized from the sales will practically cover the difference in price between mimeographed and printed papers.

MULTIGRAPHED SHOP PAPERS

Multigraphing has the same disadvantages as printing in the matter of expense and even more restriction in the use of illustrations, so that unless the nucleus happens to be in a position to operate a multigraph without cost, there is no advantage.

MIMEOGRAPHED SHOP PAPERS

There are two arguments against mimeographed papers—one is that the worker is used to high-grade paper and printing in the company organs and will look with contempt on the “home-made” variety. This argument will not stand examination. In any case we can’t compete with the very expensive company organs and capitalist periodicals, and the amateurishness of the mimeographed paper, if well executed, will make the worker feel more that it is his own because every bit of it is done by his fellow workers in the shop.

The other argument is that for very large shops, with thousands of workers, mimeographing is out of the question, not only because the stencil does not produce good results after a thousand copies, but also because the entire work involved of assembling and clipping, etc., is so tremendous. This is perfectly true. Taking all arguments pro and con, the mimeographed paper, except in the case of a factory of more than a thousand workers, is far superior.

But that means that the technical work on the mimeographed bulletin must be done with exactly the same care and skill as the writing. Very attractive results can be obtained, even more attractive than in the printed papers. This is no easy task and requires the work of a typist who is not only skillful in general, but one who is experienced in this particular kind of work, and who can use judgment in the arrangement of the material as the stencil is being cut.

To get the best results it is advisable to assign a typist to each paper, which means intensive work for her once a month to get out her particular paper. She becomes familiar with the paper, with the conditions in the shop, with the manner in which the nucleus works, and can use not only technical but also political judgment in arranging the material which is given to her—insertion of slogans or announcements at strategic places, splitting up articles too long for one page without interfering with others, etc.

The great advantage in mimeographing, besides the low expense, is the ease with which cartoons and illustrations can be inserted. Any kind of picture can be traced onto the stencil by the most inexperienced hand. It is wise to make collections of pictures from newspapers, “Daily Worker” cartoons, etc., to be used at appropriate times. In the case of printing, cuts always have to be made of every picture, which increases the expense and consequently decreases the number of illustrations.

Another advantage of mimeographing is the fact that the nucleus can do the work and thus does away with the ever-present evil in shop-paper work—that of the District or Section taking all the burden of the work of getting out the paper and absolving the nucleus from all responsibility.

COMMON TECHNICAL FAULTS

The first consideration in the technical work is that the material must be readable. The prejudice against the mimeographed papers arises largely from the fact that they are executed badly and the result is an unreadable mess. A well executed mimeographed paper is more attractive than a printed paper.

The commonest fault is the attempt to crowd too much material on each page, at the expense of the appearance of the paper. This is carried to such an extreme that sometimes the two columns run together in an indistinguishable manner, and the margins on the stencils are so narrow that the paper won’t take

the print properly and the material is absolutely unreadable. Sufficient care is not taken in running them off the mimeograph, resulting in the smearing of pages against each other. This is sometimes due to using the wrong quality of paper. In some cases the paper is too thin to take both sides, resulting in a blurred effect, from the print on each side showing through on the other.

Some papers don't separate their articles clearly enough, subheads being run exactly as titles of fresh articles. This creates confusion. When an article breaks off at the foot of the column, quite frequently there is no indication where it is continued. A really skillful typist will arrange her material so that as few articles as possible need to run over onto other pages. In some cases articles have been continued on three or four different additional pages, just wherever there happened to be space for a few lines. This can easily be avoided by a little forethought in planning the arrangement of the paper.

Where the material is run in a solid mass, instead of in two columns, it is not tempting to the average worker to read. Dividing lines between columns improve the appearance.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Too few mimeographed papers take advantage of the ease with which illustrations can be inserted (either by original drawing or tracings from elsewhere) to liven up the page. Perhaps the comrades begrudge the space, for when there is important material on hand and a cartoon takes up half a page of already limited space, one hesitates. But a cartoon can say as much and more than a half-page article in many cases. Many papers have also found attractive effects by putting in a very small but pointed illustration with the titles of articles. They need not have any particular political significance—a humorous or satirical illustration is sometimes even better, leaving the political ideas to the larger cartoons.

BREAKING THE SOLID APPEARANCE

In mimeographing, the page can easily be broken up by the insertion of slogans, short announcements, etc. This breaks the heavy solid appearance and avoids monotony.

THE MASTHEAD

The name of the paper should never be printed in ordinary type and should always be accompanied by some suitable illustration or design. This should be the same month after month in order that the workers become familiar with it and recognize it instantly as their shop paper. It should have some connection with the shop. The German Party has found it feasible to have cuts made of the mastheads of some of their papers and a large supply printed, to be used each month as the first page of the mimeographed paper.

In general, technique is a matter of experience, and it is impossible to write of every small detail. The basic considerations are that the paper is easily readable and attractive in appearance.

CONCLUSION

Much of the material treated in this pamphlet is A B C to the comrades experienced in shop paper work, and they may wonder why so many simple details are given space here. When one realizes the inexperience and ignorance in general of how to get out a shop paper among many comrades, we will realize how necessary so elementary a treatment of the problem is. It still occurs that Agitprop Directors who have never had anything to do with shop paper work, haven't the least conception of how complicated a job it is. Not only Unit Agitprop Directors, but also Section and even Districts Agitprop Directors still think it sufficient to hand out to some comrade who knows how to write, a few facts about a shop and ask him to have a finished shop paper the next day ready for distribution. A perusal of this pamphlet will make them realize what enormous and painstaking care is involved in getting out a real Communist shop paper.

This document has treated only of shop papers in the strict sense of the word. Those organs of the Party closely related to the shop paper, such as neighborhood papers, tenement papers, papers for a factory building containing many shops, papers for unemployed districts, etc., have not been taken up since this is only the first step in getting out instructions for this work and cannot possibly treat of all its ramifications.

There has been so little exchange of experiences in the field of shop paper work, that it becomes of great importance for comrades who have had to face problems in this work to write in to the National Agitprop Department, describing the difficulties met with, and how they were overcome, thus giving other comrades the benefits of their experiences.

As we turn our attention more to the industries and try to build up our influence among the industrial proletariat, we will learn to appreciate this weapon more and more. The Resolution on Factory Newspapers endorsed by the Org Bureau of the ECCI says:

"This importance (the organizational as well as agitational significance of the factory papers) increases considerably in times of economic crisis and unemployment because the factory papers are one of the best means of most intensively influencing the broad non-Communist masses, without thereby (given proper publication and distribution) subjecting the nuclei to the employers' terror."

The Conference of the Agitprop Departments of seven European Communist Parties held in 1930, passed a resolution "On the Immediate Tasks of the Agitprop Work of the Mid-European Sections of the Comintern," which includes the following:

"Factory newspapers are an important means of strengthening Party work in the factories and are of exceptional importance for winning over the decisive sections of the working class, for mobilizing them around our slogans and our economic and political activities, and for recruiting new supporters to the revolutionary trade union movement and new members of the Party and Y. C. L."

And Lenin said: "Throughout the year the workers, first in one place and then in another, continuously present a variety of partial demands to their employers and fight for these demands. In assisting the workers in this fight Communists must always explain the connection it has with the proletarian struggle for emancipation in all countries."

How better can we reach the factory worker to accomplish this task than through the Communist shop paper?

XIV. OTHER COMMUNIST EXHIBITS

Exhibits Nos. 23-31, inclusive, are self-explanatory.

The Communist Party, which the committee has found to be a foreign conspiracy masked as a political party, puts out hundreds of tons of printed propaganda in the United States annually. The exhibits presented in this report represent only a small fraction of this printed propaganda.

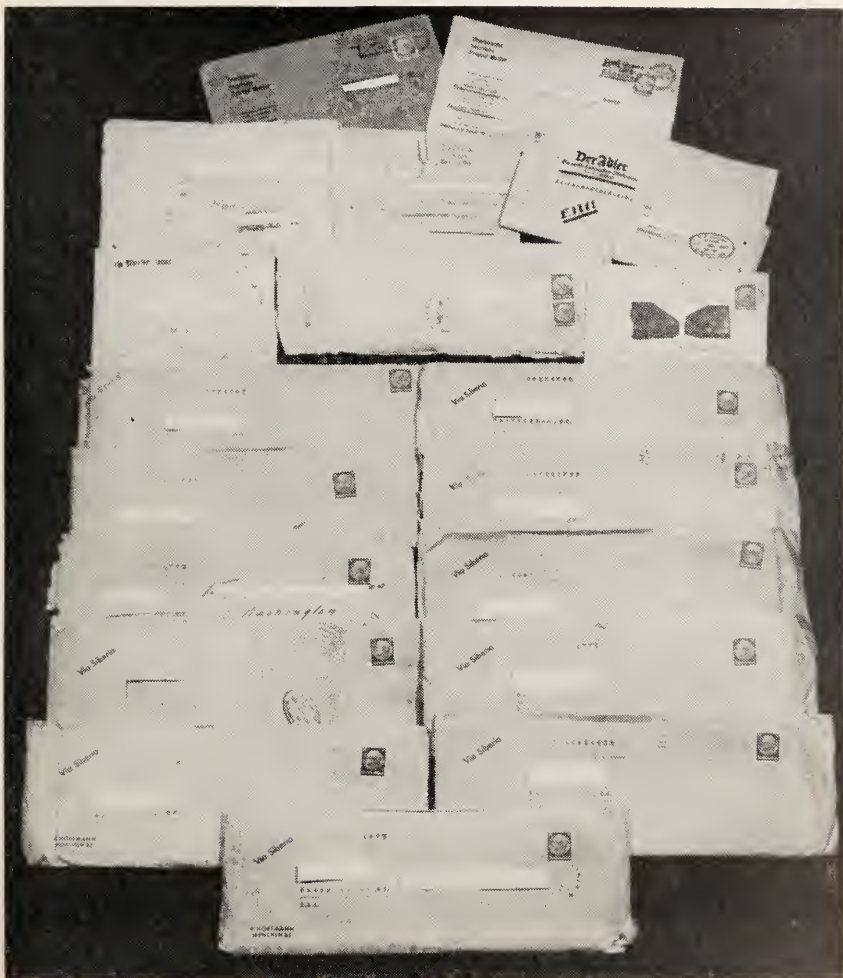
All of the front organizations of the Nazis and the Communists put out their own bulletins, pamphlets, books, circulars, etc. It is impossible to make an estimate of the grand aggregate of this printed propaganda. Suffice it to say that it is a tremendous quantity. All of it enjoys freedom to circulate in the United States today. The chief problem which this report presents is that of the use of the mails for the distribution of this totalitarian propaganda when it is done at the expense of the American taxpayers.

XV. CONCLUSION

The committee is of the opinion that added legislation is necessary at this time to place restrictions on the distribution of totalitarian propaganda when that distribution involves any cost to the American taxpayers, and when such propaganda emanates from a foreign source.

It is therefore respectfully recommended to the standing Committees of both Houses of Congress on "Post Office and Post Roads," that the evidence contained in this report be carefully examined with a view to proposing legislation that will exclude from the benefits of the Universal Postal Union Agreement, propaganda that is directed against the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 1



Envelopes containing Nazi propaganda mailed to addressees in the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 2



Samples of Nazi propaganda mailed to the United States from Germany.

EXHIBIT No. 3



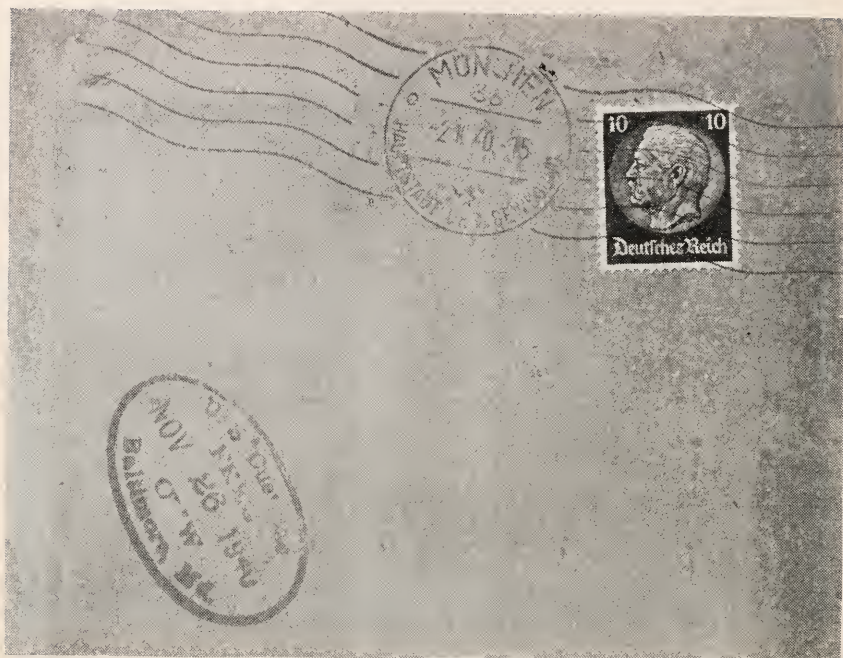
The body of a woman at Brest and her remains being removed to the West front of Brest.



The remains of a woman at Brest and her remains being removed to the West front of Brest.

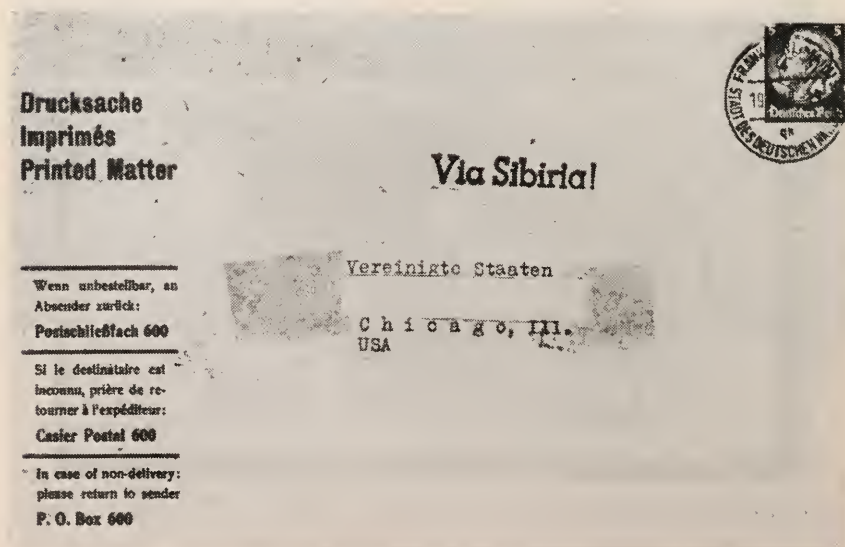
A double-page reproduction from The Polish Atrocities Against Germans in Poland.

EXHIBIT No. 4



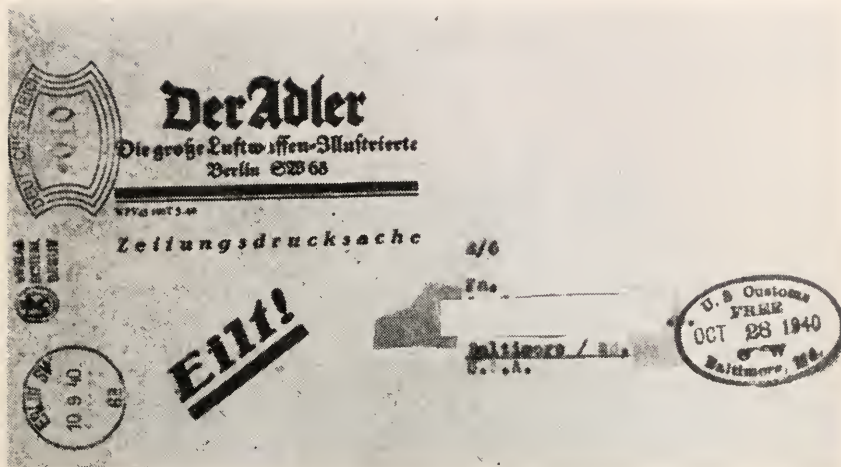
An envelope mailed from Germany.

EXHIBIT No. 5



An envelope mailed from Germany.

EXHIBIT No. 6



A wrapper from a piece of Nazi propaganda.

EXHIBIT No. 7



An envelope which contained Nazi propaganda cards for re-mailing in the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 8



One of the anti-British propaganda cards contained in the envelope marked "Exhibit No. 7."

EXHIBIT No. 9

DEUTSCHE AKADEMIE · MÜNCHEN · GOETHE-INSTITUT

Deutsch- unterricht im Ausland



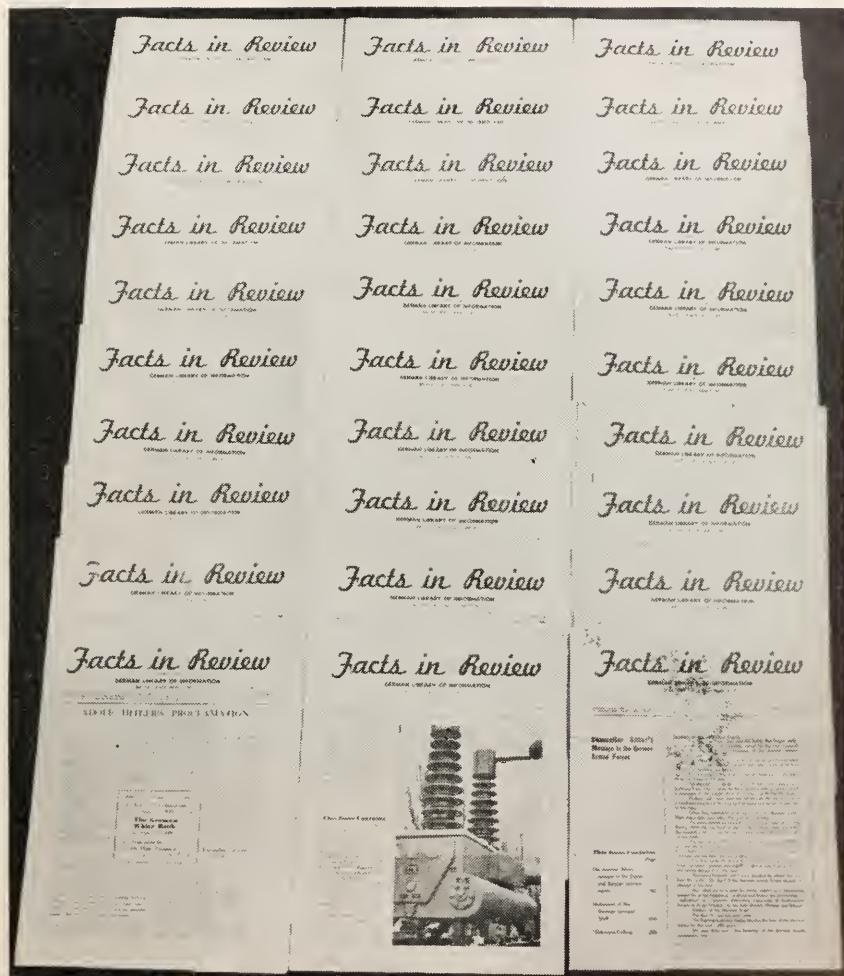
VERLAG VON R. OLDENBOURG · MÜNCHEN UND BERLIN

EXHIBIT No. 10



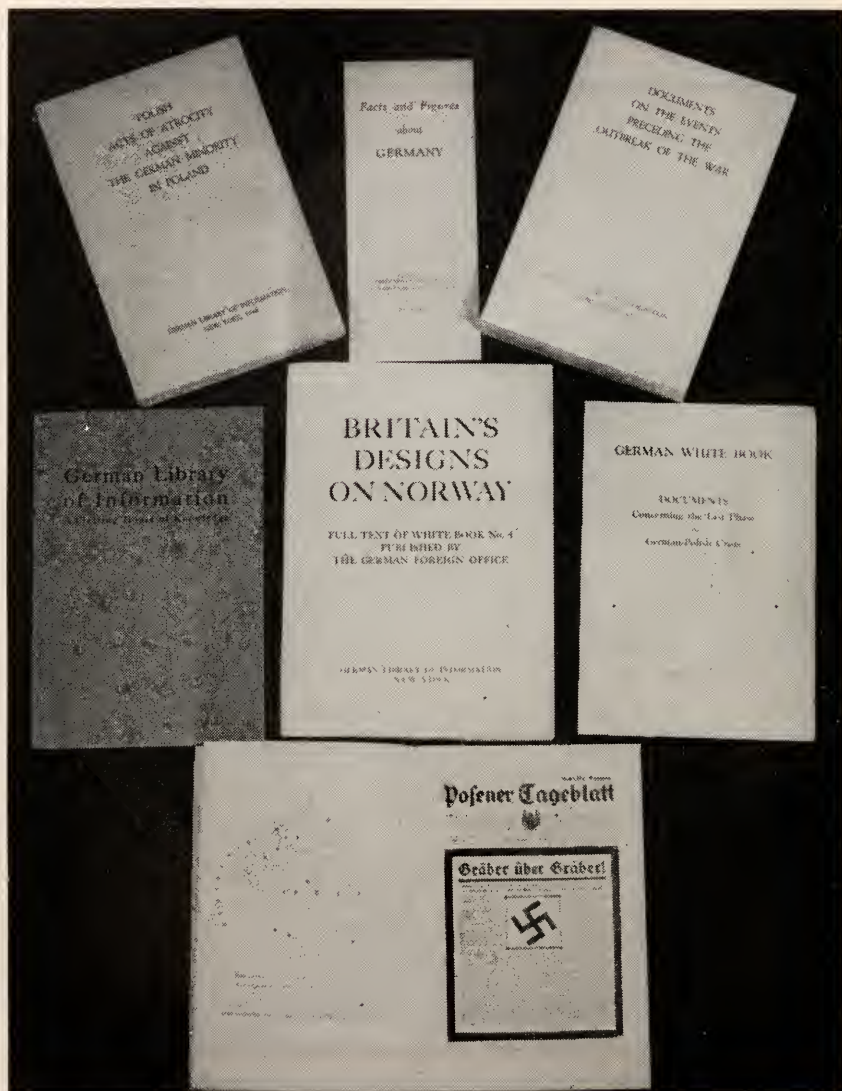
The mailing lists of the German Library of Information.

EXHIBIT No. 11



The weekly bulletin of the German Library of Information.

EXHIBIT No. 12



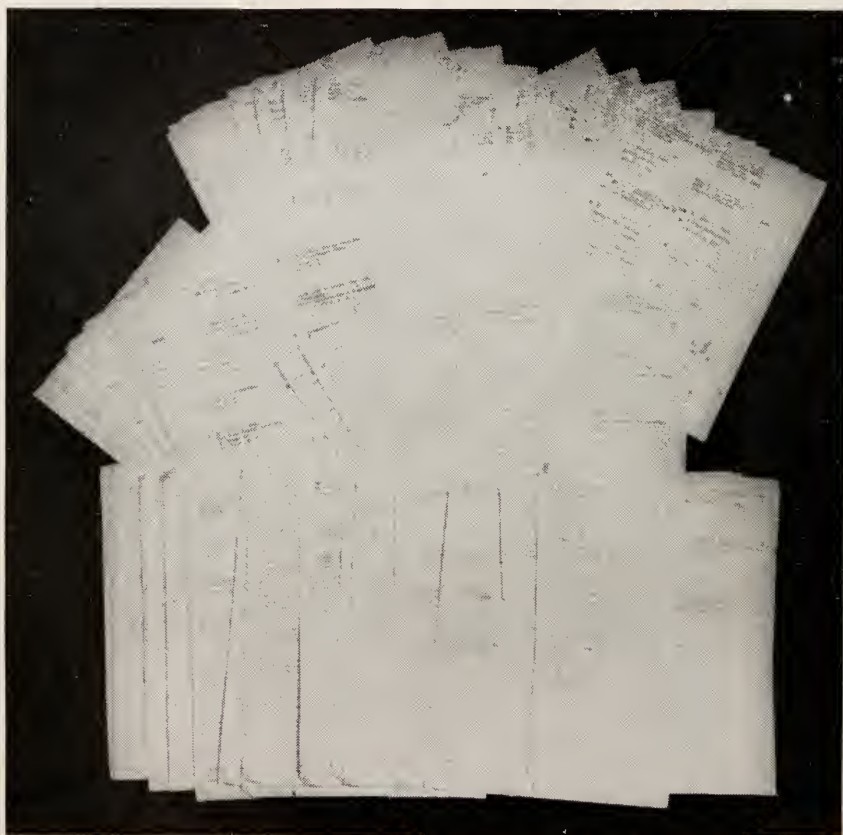
Propaganda books and booklets of the German Library of Information.

EXHIBIT No. 13



Printed matter of the German Railroads Information Office.

EXHIBIT No. 14



The mailing list of the German Railroads Information Office.

EXHIBIT No. 15

*With Compliments and best Wishes
hoping to be savored with more Addresses
from Friends of Yours*

*BPA
League for Cultivating Personal
Friendships Abroad
Berlin W 15, Tasanenstrasse 30*

An enclosure received with Nazi propaganda mailed in Germany.

EXHIBIT No. 16



Copies of the official publication of the German-American Bund.

EXHIBIT No. 17



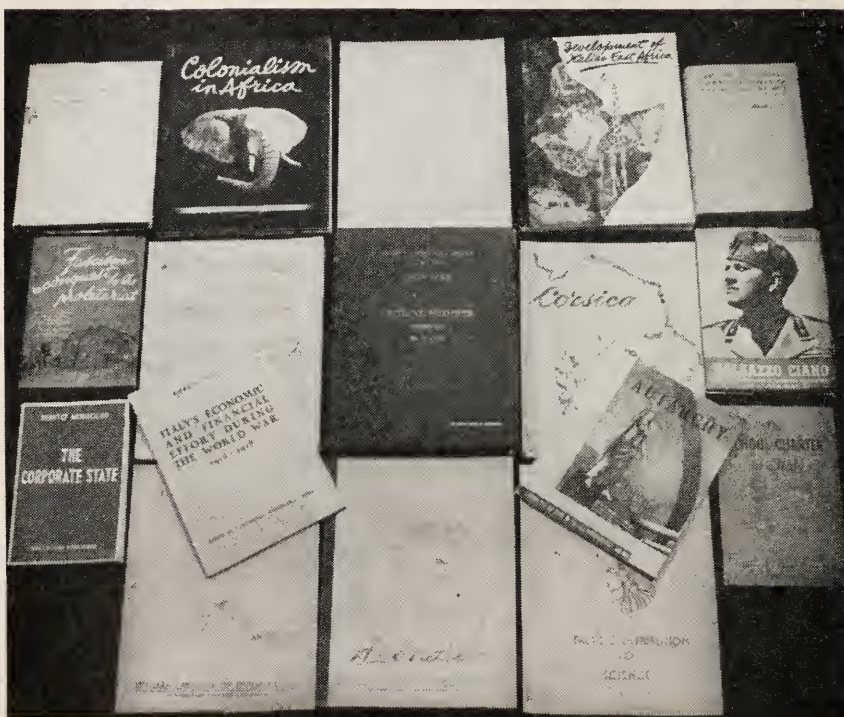
Printed propaganda matter received from Japan.

EXHIBIT No. 18



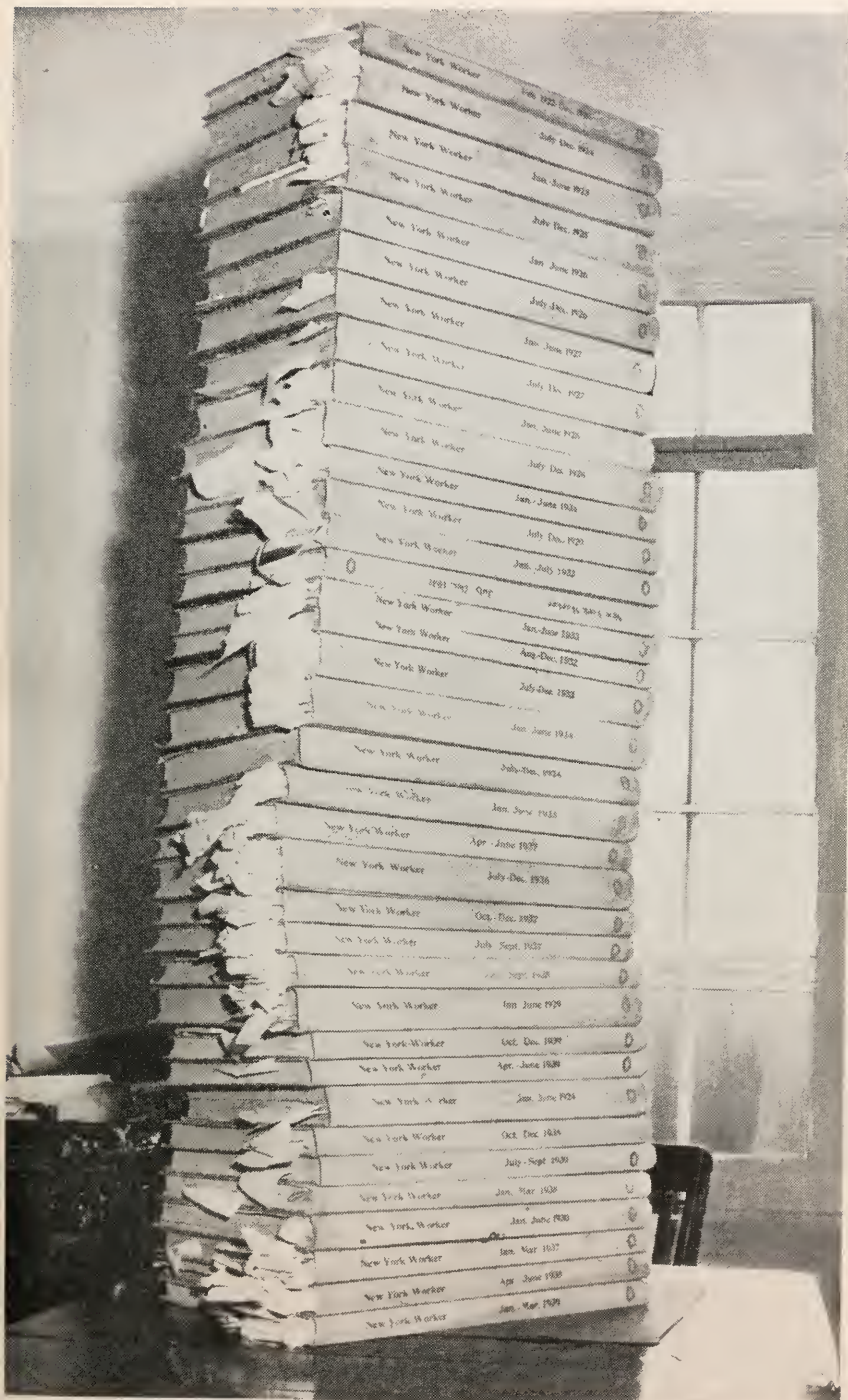
Books and pamphlets printed in Italy and mailed to the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 19



More Italian propaganda, including the publications of the Italian Library of Information.

EXHIBIT No. 20



Bound volumes of the Daily Worker in the committee's offices.

EXHIBIT No. 21



Samples of shop and neighborhood papers published by the Communist Party.

EXHIBIT No. 22



Samples of shop and neighborhood papers published by the Communist Party.

EXHIBIT No. 23



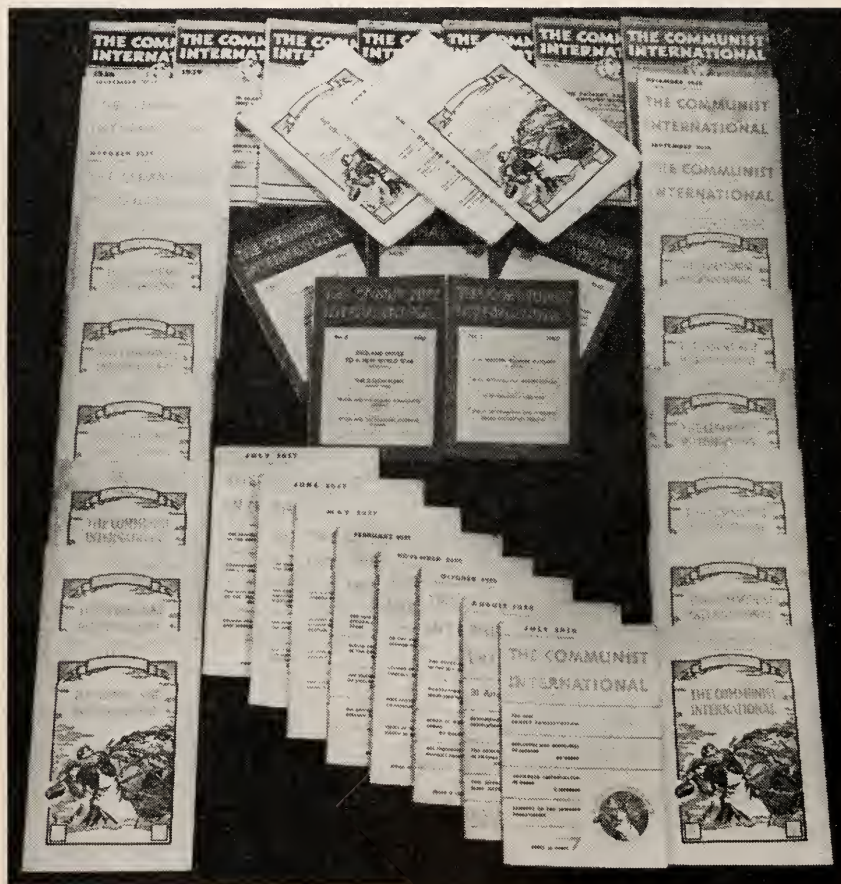
Books and pamphlets of the Communist Party showing the Party's aim to create a Soviet America.

EXHIBIT No. 24



Propaganda material printed in the Soviet Union and mailed to the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 25



Copies of the Communist International circulated in the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 26



Copies of The Communist, official publication of the Communist Party.

EXHIBIT No. 27



Copies of Soviet Russia Today, one of the principal propaganda media of the Communist Party.

EXHIBIT No. 28



Books and pamphlets printed in the Soviet Union and sent through the United States mails.

EXHIBIT No. 29



Copies of the Young Communist Review, official organ of the Young Communist League in the United States.

EXHIBIT No. 30



A part of the committee's library of subversive literature.

EXHIBIT No. 31



A part of the committee's files containing many thousands of pieces of propaganda literature of the Communists and Nazis in the United States.